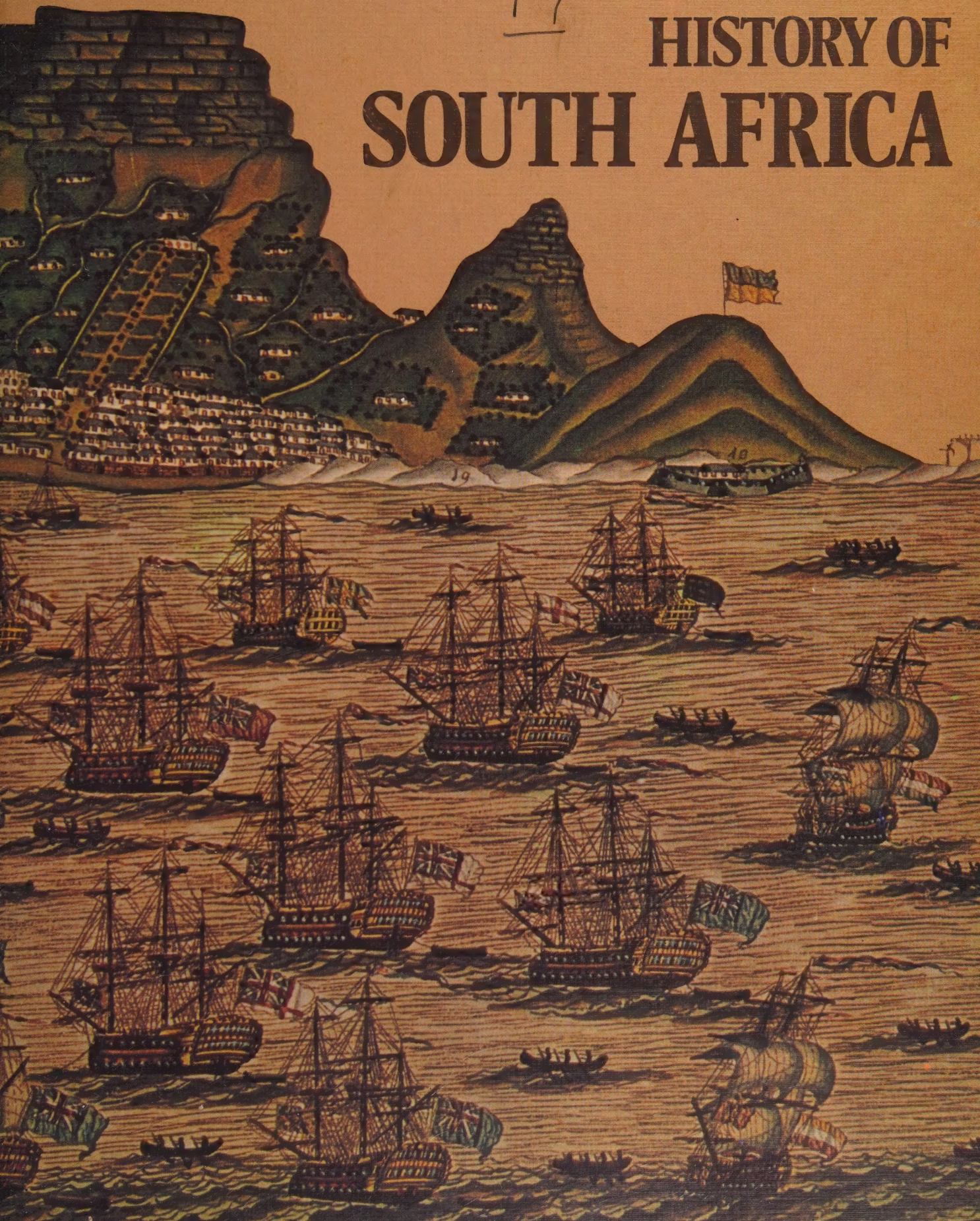


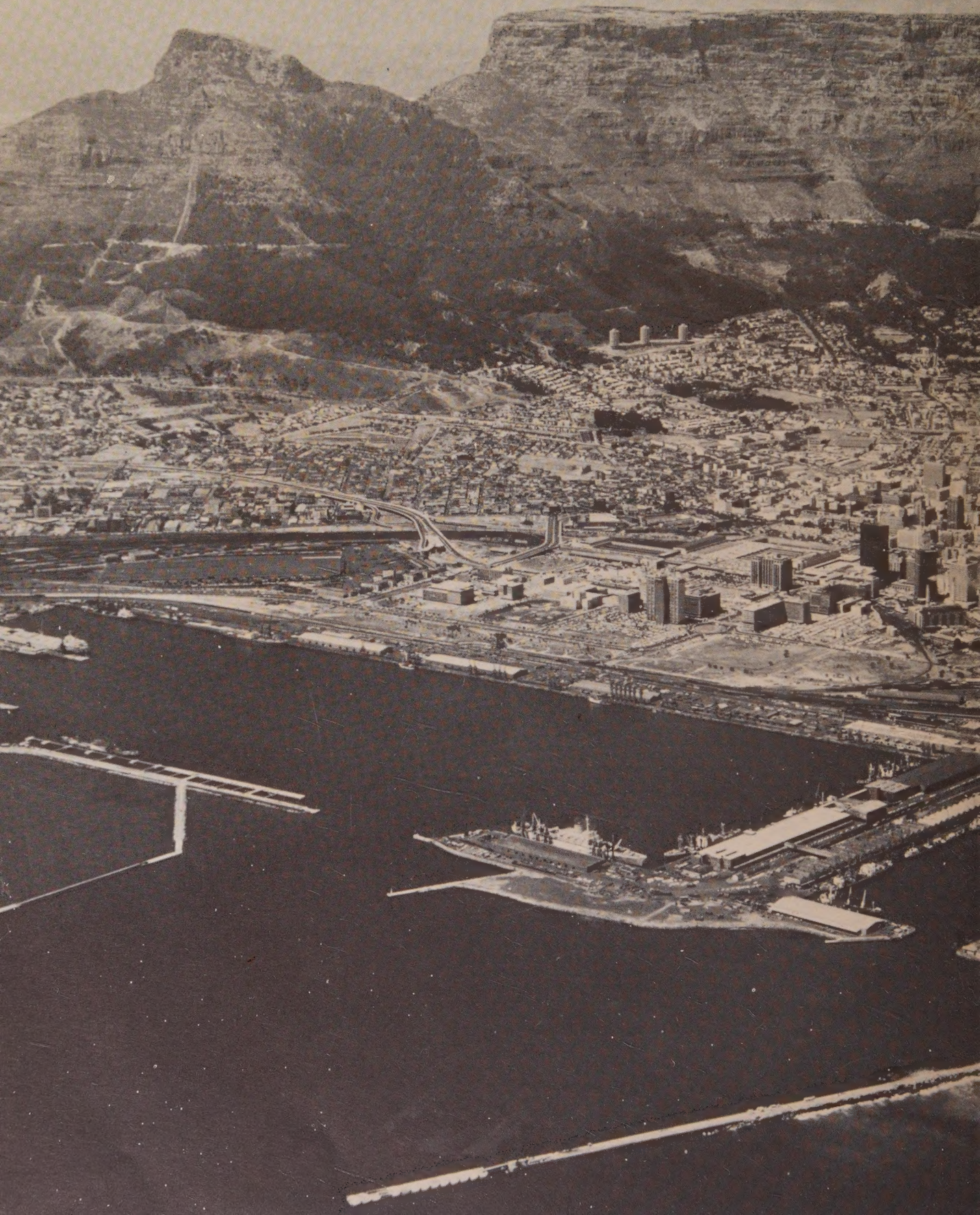
HISTORY OF SOUTH AFRICA





HISTORY OF SOUTH AFRICA

by W. J. de Kock







Prof. W. J. de Kock

THE AUTHOR

Professor W. J. de Kock was born in the Cape Province in 1917. He studied History and Education at the University of Cape Town and in 1940 he embarked on a highly successful teaching career.

In 1946 a doctorate in Philosophy was conferred on him by the University of Stellenbosch and two years later he was appointed lecturer in History at the University of Pretoria. In 1951 he went to Europe for three years as a temporary archivist to collect material on the Anglo-Boer War of 1899–1902.

After a further period of five years as Senior Lecturer at the University of Pretoria, Prof. de Kock was appointed in 1960 to a chair in History at the University College of the Western Cape.

In 1962 he became chief editor of the Dictionary of South African Biography. The first volume of this publication appeared in 1968 and at the time of Prof. de Kock's death in 1970, the material for the second volume was ready for publication.

Photograph on preceding pages: Aerial view of Cape Town showing in foreground the Victoria Basin (right) and Duncan Dock, and in rear Table Mountain with, on the left, Devil's Peak, and right, Lion's Head. Founded in 1652, Cape Town is the "Mother City" of South Africa and the country's legislative capital.

index

The Portuguese at the Cape of Good Hope	7
The Dutch establish a settlement	8
The trail to the interior	10
The end of Company rule	11
The British at the Cape	12
Move to the north	14
British Colonies and Boer Republics	15
Imperialism	17
Settlement by war	19
Reconstruction and Union	21
A united beginning	22
Hertzog establishes a party	25
Louis Botha's uneasy years	26
Politics and the First World War	27
Smuts at the helm (1919-1924)	29
Hertzog and the Pact Government	30
Independence within the Empire	34
From depression to coalition	35
Fusion: Its achievements and failures	37
The collapse of Fusion (1938-1939)	39
Smuts goes to War	39
Afrikaners divided	40
Progress after the War	40
Smuts: the end of the road	43
Malan shoulders the task	44
Communism and colour problems	44
Planning for the Coloured and Bantu peoples	46
Mineral wealth	47
The year 1960	47
South Africa becomes a Republic	49
Self-rule for the Transkei	52
The struggle for South West Africa	52
The future	54
After Verwoerd	55
South Africa in perspective	59



la credenza nita dalle
della Luna i Geografi a
moderna Reportarimo
per la gloriosa distin
quella che mi ferus per
molare l'edificina, quist
le relazioni accreditali
dell' Baldassar Te
los, e del Ladolfo.

Montagne
ancha e due
poi le Porto

dena alla Francia
1666. HAUPPIN
scoperta dalla Portoghesi
Lanna 1666.

Il C. di Buona Speranza fu scoperto da
Bartol. Dias nel 1486, che lo chiamò
Tormentoso per le molte tempeste che
in esso si soffrono. D. Gio. a. de. Portugal
chiamò C. di Buona Speranza. Gli
olandesi hanno un forte

Sagasso,
detta da Portoghesi,
Mantia di Bortolan.

Prima
da A
tutti
tempe
quale
che si
dell' op
in Fier
tutta la

INDIONALE



Left: An early map of Southern Africa.

An artist's conception of Bartholomew Diaz erecting a cross at Angra Pequena on the South West Africa coast in 1488.

That southernmost part of the continent of Africa which the world to-day knows as the Republic of South Africa is the homeland of over twenty-one million people of various races, speaking tongues both of Europe and indigenous Africa, and living at peace in a vast country with a climate that varies regionally from semi-desert to sub-tropical. Present-day South Africa covers an area larger than the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Italy and Portugal combined; five times the size of the United Kingdom; and forty times larger than the Netherlands from where, originally, the majority of the ancestors of its White population came.

The Portuguese at the Cape of Good Hope

In the early months of 1488, close on five centuries ago, the Portuguese mariner Bartholomew Diaz, in command of two caravels, discovered what was subsequently named the Cape of Good Hope and rounded the southernmost tip of the continent. Prince Henry the Navigator, questing spirit of the Renaissance, had started the lonely search of uncharted African seas to the south from his very doorstep in Portugal, seventy-three years before. Hugging the shore

of Africa for almost a century, it was to take the Portuguese navigators yet another ten years after Diaz's first voyage round the Cape, before Vasco da Gama, passing the farthest point that Diaz had reached, sailed through to the Malabar coast of India to open the doors of wealth to his master, King Manuel the Fortunate of Portugal. But while the Portuguese ships braved the 'sea of storms' round the Cape to bring their precious cargoes home, South Africa was not inhabited by White men. For a century it remained a great unexplored land whose brown and black-skinned men the Portuguese only encountered when they filled their barrels at watering places, bartered sheep or cattle, or found themselves shipwrecked on the coast. The nameless land, sometimes indicated as the 'lower part of Ethiopia', was covered by early cartographers with imaginary rivers, mountains and place names. Compared with the profits of the East the land seemed to have nothing to offer, and its interior was shunned by the Portuguese crews.

By 1600 the Indian trade monopoly was being wrested from the grasp of the Portuguese by trade rivals: the English, the Dutch and the French regarded Portuguese ships on the Cape route as legitimate prey as they worked their way to the East and into the very places from which the exotic riches came.



Vasco da Gama (1460–1524), Portuguese discoverer of the sea route round the Cape to India.

Opposite page: An early painting depicting the landing of Commander Jan van Riebeeck in 1652 on the shores of Table Bay where he established the first White settlement in South Africa.

While Portugal's spice ships were a royal monopoly, the Dutch, the English and the French set up chartered companies of shareholders to exploit the Eastern trade at the turn of the century; and at the Cape the bay under Table Mountain acquired new importance because, unlike the Portuguese whose goal was India, the Dutch went out directly eastwards to reach the coveted Moluccan trade. Table Bay, rarely visited by the Portuguese, became a half-way house on the long voyage to the East Indies, the rendezvous of passing ships of many nations. Only in 1652, after more than half a century had elapsed, was a settlement founded by the Dutch East India Company, to provision its fleets and to hospitalize its sick sailors.

The Dutch Establish a Settlement

On 6 April 1652, to-day celebrated as founder's day and an official holiday in South Africa, a man of thirty-two, Jan van Riebeeck (1619-1677), set foot on South African soil. But this able and ambitious official was not sent by his powerful directors, the Council of Seventeen, to colonise by means of settlement (as was happening at that time with the North American English colonies) or to exploit (as the

same Company and their British rivals were doing in the Spice Islands of the East Indies). Together with his wife, a lady from Schiedam, and some ninety men, 'weak, inept, scurvy-ridden and sickly', according to his journal, he was to tame the wilderness in Table Valley, to build a fort and hospital, and to provide meat and fresh vegetables for passing fleets. He was also to keep the peace with the primitive Hottentot cattle-breeders on whom he would have to depend for his meat-supply by bartering with them. In the ten years of effort before he hopefully moved on to continue his career in the East, Van Riebeeck failed to attain most of the Company's objectives, nor did his successors fare any better during the next twenty years. But as early as 1657, in an attempt to supplement the production of the gardens that Van Riebeeck had laid out, and because of the uncertain barter of cattle, soldiers released from service were allowed to start farming.

These free burghers started the tradition of agriculture in what was soon to become a land of farmers. One year later a shipload of Black slaves from a captured Portuguese vessel from Angola landed at Table Bay. Slave-labour was to be imported until 1834, mainly from Madagascar, Mozambique and the East Indies. From the outset, slavery at the Cape was an anomaly in the temperate region of settlement; but in the peculiar circumstances at the Cape



it subsequently added an important element to the Non-White population and had a lasting effect on the social relationship between servant-classes at the Cape and their employers.

After the year 1671 the small settlement, confined until then to the hammer-shaped Cape Peninsula, Mediterranean in climate but swept by violent south-east winds, expanded to find more sheltered farmlands. Thus began a process of expansion into the interior, more rapid on the whole after 1700, and not arrested till well into the nineteenth century by which time the limits of the present-day Republic had been reached.

During its first troubled quarter-century the tiny Cape community of 'free men' made slight progress. In government as in economic matters, they were rigidly controlled by the commercial company whose interests they were required to serve. They had a modest share in local government, but even later, long after the settlement had outgrown its infancy, they were excluded from participation in the central government which remained almost entirely in the hands of Company officials up to the time Company rule ended in 1795.

To the growing community of free burghers, mostly of Dutch descent but with a fair number of Germans as well, Roman-Dutch law (still in use in South Africa in civil

cases) was a legal heritage brought by the Dutch from their fatherland. Their church, too, was the Calvinist Reformed Church of the Netherlands, transplanted to the village that was growing up around the stone fortress - the Castle which has survived to this day - built at a time when the France of Louis XIV was the enemy.

Under the energetic rule (1679-1707) of two Governors, Simon van der Stel and his son Willem Adriaan van der Stel, the struggling colony solved its original problem of under-production so successfully that chronic over-production of wheat and wine was to plague farmers for the whole of the eighteenth century.

Simon van der Stel, who came to the Cape with no intention of departing, by his dynamic example infused among the colonists a local patriotism. He was founder of the first village in the interior, named Stellenbosch after him. Among the immigrants he introduced to strengthen the ranks of the free farmers was a group of about 150 French Huguenot refugees, most of whom arrived in 1688. Though few in number they formed seventeen per cent of the small community of colonists. High-minded Calvinists from a social class perhaps on the whole superior to that of some of the older free burghers, they made a valuable contribution to the life and culture of the future Afrikaner people. Though their language soon disappeared, many of



The farm Groot Constantia near Cape Town. The original homestead was built by Governor Simon van der Stel in 1685. Today it is a national monument.

their family names have survived, and there are numerous Huguenot descendants who proudly trace their ancestry to the immigrants of 1688.

The Trail to the Interior

While it had been the ideal of the first Van der Stel that the settlement should not spread beyond the first mountain range of the interior, and that the colonists should practise agriculture rather than cattle-farming, a most significant and spontaneous movement of colonists began under the younger Van der Stel at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Following the trail blazed by hunters and cattle traders, came the cattle-farmers seeking water and good grazing. In many cases the hunter's bivouac became the cattle-farmer's home.

The younger Van der Stel, during whose term of office the expansion to the interior started, was dismissed from office in 1707 as a result of a clash with Stellenbosch farmers of Dutch, German and French descent, who jointly launched a spirited attack on him for allegedly threatening them with economic ruin by monopolising a restricted market for his own farm produce and that of his friends, mostly high

officials of the Company. During this conflict it became clear that the colonists, drawn from the old nations of Europe, were for the first time beginning to think of themselves as 'Afrikaners', an appellation used as early as 1707. The term *boer* (farmer) which Governor van der Stel had used contemptuously to describe his enemies, was elevated by them (as once the Sea-Beggars had done in similar circumstances in Holland) to the honourable form of *Boer*, which is synonymous with 'Afrikaner'. It denoted a people grown up on Southern African soil, and imbued with a patriotism centred in the new fatherland into which they were carrying the cultural values of Western Europe as they moved further into the unknown interior.

But the price of the burgher victory over Willem Adriaan van der Stel and his farming friends was high. Although the stage had obviously been reached where more farmers were needed to satisfy the requirements of the Company's ships, all assisted immigration from Europe to the Cape was stopped in 1707. Ten years later came a further crucial decision to import more slave-labour, rather than European artisans. Taken together, these decisions account for the relatively small White population, even to-day, in South Africa compared with, for example, North America where similar conditions existed in the eighteenth century. The cumulative White population loss after 1707 was never



French Hock Valley, where some of the French Huguenots settled towards the end of the seventeenth century. Many of the farms in this valley still bear the original French names.

made good, although, mainly through the coming of more Germans in Company service in the eighteenth century, the population doubled itself every thirty years. Even so, by the time the Company disappeared from the scene in 1795, the Cape population was only 15 000 strong but living in an area covering about one-half of the present Cape Province.

Until 1779 Cape history was uneventful. Unobtrusively and peacefully the cattle-farmers occupied land stretching eastwards and northwards within a radius of roughly 800 kilometres of Cape Town, holding farms of 3 000 hectares or more of unsurveyed land, leased from the Government at a nominal rental. They experienced no hostility from the sparse Hottentot population, which soon became their voluntary labour force. But they were impeded somewhat by the nomadic Bushmen - yellow-skinned hunters of the Stone Age, who, owning no cattle, soon became cattle-thieves. They used poisoned arrows to deadly effect in killing stock but retreated before an advancing White civilisation which they did not understand.

The Afrikaner cattle-farmer advanced, covering with tenuous habitations an area of some 170 000 square kilometres, stretching mainly eastwards; until in 1770 at the Great Fish River he encountered the vanguard of the Black or Bantu peoples who, during the course of centuries,

had been migrating slowly southwards on a broad trans-continental front. Those on the Fish River were the Xhosa, the spearhead of other tribes of the Nguni group who were later to form the Zulu and Swazi nations and whom the Whites were to encounter in full force during the next century.

The End of Company Rule

The clash between White and Black cattle-owners in the area of the Fish River, at the eastern extremity of the European settlement, gave rise to no less than nine 'wars' in the course of a century, the first encounter occurring in 1779/80. The confrontation with the Xhosa effectively checked the hitherto uneventful eastward occupation of large leased farms. The cattle-farmer (*veeboer*) was hemmed in by the Xhosa to the east, and by the wide, dry Karoo to the north and north-east. It was, therefore, fully half a century before the stock-farmer became a migrant farmer (*trekboer*) and established a bridgehead for his grazing lands across the middle reaches of the Orange River, called the Gariep or 'Great' River by the Hottentots long before it received its present name in 1779 in honour of the Prince of Orange. In contrast with the relative tranquillity of the period of



Main entrance to the Castle in Cape Town, built between 1665 and 1680



Lord Charles Somerset, British Governor of the Cape Colony, 1814–1826.

expansion into the interior during the eighteenth century and the more or less uneventful history of the older settled districts of the Cape and Stellenbosch, political clouds began to gather by 1779. In the troubled years of the American Revolution England again became the enemy of the Netherlands for the first time in a century, and quiet Cape Town witnessed the unusual spectacle of a garrison of French soldiers (allies of the American colonies) that stayed for some years. At the same time the ferment of political ideas in Europe, which was to lead to the French Revolution, revealed itself as a patriotic movement in the Netherlands and was wafted to the Cape, stimulating political restlessness there which continued intermittently until 1795. Although the Cape Patriots, mainly from Cape Town and environs, achieved hardly any of their aims, their influence was decisive in the two inland districts of Swellendam and Graaff-Reinet which staged bloodless revolts in 1795 against the bureaucratic inefficiency of the moribund Company - not against the Netherlands as the sovereign authority - shortly before the Cape passed into British hands. Among the colonists, especially in the Eastern Cape, the prevailing political ideas started a train of thought which persisted among Afrikaners for more than a century and a half, until a republican form of government for the whole of South Africa came about in 1961.

The British at the Cape

In September 1795 the Cape of Good Hope was surrendered, after a token resistance, to a British expeditionary force, which had been sent to hold the Dutch colony on behalf of the Prince of Orange, an exile in England when his country became the Batavian Republic under French revolutionary tutelage. The Dutch flag was struck, but only for eight years, after which period the Batavian Republic brought Dutch rule back for a further period of three years, from 1803 to 1806.

Throughout this period of political turmoil, the settled White population at the Cape identified itself with South Africa, despite its European origin. It had its own language, Afrikaans, derived from Old Dutch, which was eventually to take its place among the literary languages of the twentieth century. Furthermore, the colonists retained their culture, derived mainly from the Netherlands and profoundly influenced by the Calvinist faith; Afrikaners read their Bible in the Dutch version, until it was translated into their own language, Afrikaans, in 1933.

It should be remembered that when the settlers arrived at the Cape in 1652, the first colonists spoke various Dutch dialects, and it was from these that the Afrikaans language



Port Elizabeth: A distant view of the Campanile (top left) erected to commemorate the landing of the British Settlers of 1820 on the desolate shores of Algoa Bay.

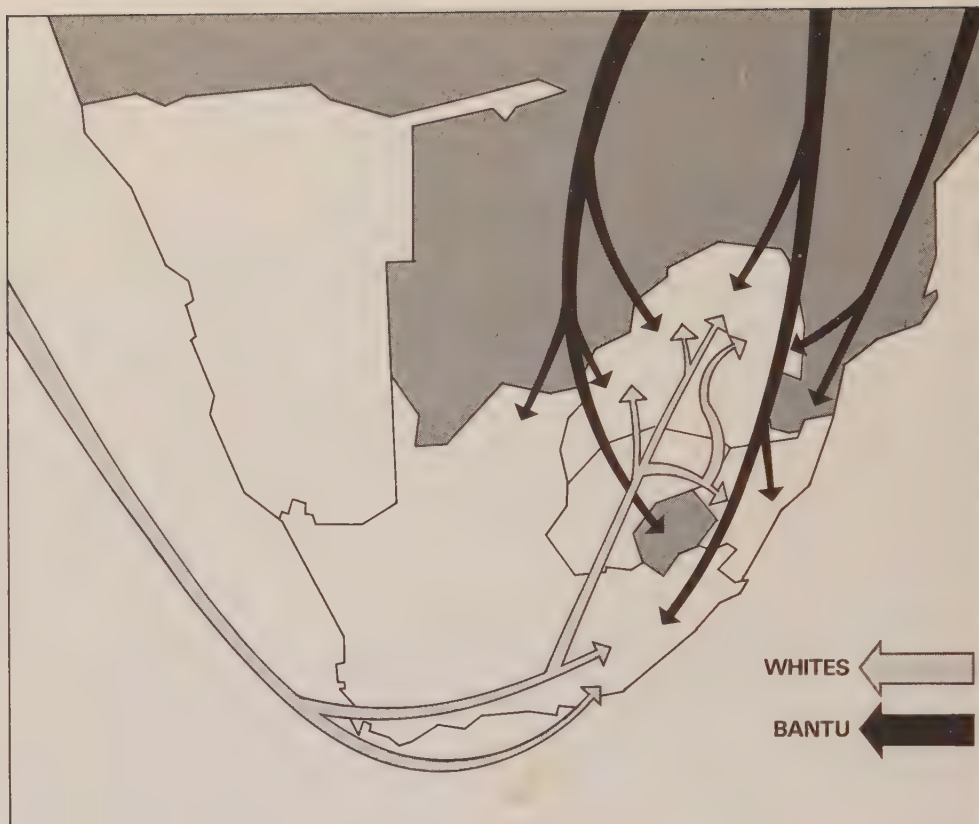
evolved. By 1795 Afrikaans, which had in a large measure retained the Dutch vocabulary, had become the spoken language of the colonists, of the Hottentots and of the slave population; the latter two groups were the chief progenitors of the present Coloured people of the Cape. Dutch remained the language of the pulpit, of the law courts and of all correspondence; Afrikaans was not a written language before 1875, and was only finally accepted as an official language in 1925.

The first British occupation had effected few changes by the time the Treaty of Amiens restored the Cape to the Dutch for a brief period, from 1803 to 1806. When the war against Napoleon was resumed, the Batavian rulers at the Cape could do little else than await the inevitable return of the British who, in January 1806, occupied the Cape temporarily, pending the outcome of the war against Napoleon. At the European settlement of 1814 (confirmed after Waterloo) the Netherlands, then a kingdom under the House of Orange, was generously treated, but the Cape went to Great Britain by formal cession - not by purchase, as has been suggested.

Until 1834 the Cape Colony, like other British crown colonies, was governed by senior officials. Faced with the problem of handling a population which was, until 1820, entirely non-British, they applied a policy of anglicisation

which, especially after 1822, was aimed at eliminating the Dutch language from government service and courts of law, and gradually reducing its use at schools and in churches. Apart from the consistent tendency of the Dutch Reformed Church to resist these cultural inroads, the colonial Afrikaners seem to have accepted the new measures without protest. They did not demand political rights, which they had never really had during the Dutch period in any event; they left the clamour for constitutional advance to the more articulate and more politically conscious English-speaking element which was added to the population in 1820 when some 5 000 immigrants arrived from post-Waterloo Britain to settle near the eastern frontier of the colony.

The advent of the British Settlers affected the future course of events in South Africa in various ways. Apart from serving as a buffer on the dangerous eastern frontier, where the horrors of war soon overtook them and their Afrikaner neighbours, the new immigrants stimulated the demand for a representative form of government. Their efforts brought the Cape Colony a partly-nominated Legislative Council in 1834, an elected Parliament with an Executive of officials in 1854, and a fully responsible government in 1872. The British Settlers of 1820 also changed the character of the White population which thenceforth con-



A simplified sketch map showing how and where the first contact between Whites and Bantu was made in South Africa.

sisted of two language groups. The English group was reinforced in mid-century by immigration into Natal, by the growth of the English population in Cape Town and the new settler towns of the Eastern Cape (Port Elizabeth and Grahamstown) and later by immigrants who poured in after 1870, subsequent to the discovery of diamonds and gold in the interior. This is how the White population of to-day which consists mainly of Afrikaans-speaking (about 60 per cent) and English-speaking (about 36 per cent) South Africans, originated.

Move to the North

For some decades the most pressing concern of the British Government, after having taken over the Cape, remained the Fish River frontier. Conflict with the Xhosa clans, which marked the thrust south-westwards by the main body of the Bantu, gradually developed into a series of campaigns that affected the Xhosa both west and east of the Kei River, and encouraged the eastward extension of the colonial boundary. Events on the eastern frontier caused a dramatic northward spread by the Boers to the interior after 1836. They passed round the southernmost Bantu

tribes and reached the Natal coastal plains. Infiltration by the British, and afterwards by the Cape Administration, followed as an aftermath of war, until by 1894 the Cape had enveloped and controlled the whole Bantu block between the mountains of Basutoland (Lesotho) and the Indian Ocean, up to the Umtamvuna River, the southern border of the British colony of Natal.

Meanwhile history had been made in the interior, north of the Orange River. After 1835 the focal point, which since Van Riebeeck's day had been the Cape Colony, suddenly shifted to the northern interior when Whites crossed the Orange River and the highveld plateau south and north of the Vaal River, northwards up to the Limpopo River, westwards to the Kalahari semi-desert and eastwards to sub-tropical Natal where, in 1824, a small group of pioneer English traders had settled at the port which is now called Durban.

This migration, the Great Trek of 1835-37, a dramatic break-away by Boer frontier farmers, the Voortrekkers, was a deliberate move by thousands of men and women who left hearth and home in their ox-wagons at great personal sacrifice to put as much distance as possible between themselves and a British Government at the Cape under whose rule they could see no future for themselves. The Great Trek became a turning-point in South African history and



Sarel Cilliers (1801–1871), one of the leaders of the Great Trek.

one of the greatest single events of the nineteenth century. Trekking in groups across vast tracts that had been depopulated by war among the Black races themselves before the advent of the Whites, the Voortrekkers soon had to fight for their lives against two Bantu despots. The first was Mzilikazi, a refugee Zulu general who with his Matabele tribe dominated the high plateau; the second, Dingane, king of the Zulu, who ruled Natal from his seat north of the Tugela River. By 1839 the Voortrekkers had subdued both, and could proceed to establish Boer States in the land they had occupied. But the presence among and around them of a large Black population, mostly survivors whom Shaka, Dingane's predecessor, and Mzilikazi had scattered far and wide during their reign of terror, placed a heavy burden of responsibility on their shoulders.

British Colonies and Boer Republics

The first Boer Republic was that of Natal, on the Indian Ocean seaboard; it lasted only four years before it was annexed by Britain in 1843. The British authorities, who continued to regard the emigrant Voortrekkers as British subjects, followed them across the Orange River and

established a resident official at Bloemfontein in 1846 to deal with all Boers between the Orange and Modder Rivers, and to handle the independent 'chief of the mountain', the wily Moshoeshoe of Basutoland.

The British, finding the imperial burden too heavy in South Africa, adopted the policy in the 1850's of jettisoning rather than acquiring responsibilities. Thus in 1852 interference in Boer affairs ceased in the regions across the Vaal, called the Transvaal. A convention was signed with Boer leaders acknowledging their independence. The Boers were free to continue the difficult task, at which they had been labouring since 1844, of forming a united government in the Transvaal out of sparse and scattered communities, drafting a written constitution and establishing an effective executive. They achieved unity only in 1860, and even then four years of futile civil war intervened before the South African Republic was reasonably well established north of the Vaal River.

Continuing the policy of purposeful abandonment, British representatives repeated what had been done in the Transvaal two years before, and, in a convention signed at Bloemfontein in February 1854, literally thrust independence on the land between the Orange and the Vaal. What had been known successively as the Transgariep or Transorangia, and as the Orange River Sovereignty after 1848,



A detail from a frieze in the Voortrekker Monument, showing the conclusion of the treaty between the Voortrekker leader Piet Retief and the Zulu Paramount Chief Dingane allowing the Voortrekkers to settle in southern Natal. Shortly afterwards Retief and the men accompanying him were murdered at Dingane's command.

Moshesh (Moshoeshoe), founder of the South Sotho nation and independent Paramount Chief in Basutoland from about 1818 to 1870.

Opposite page: Part of the large crowd at the inauguration in December 1949 of the Voortrekker Monument on the outskirts of Pretoria. This monument commemorates the achievements of the Voortrekkers during the Great Trek.

now became the independent Boer Republic of the Orange Free State which was to retain its independent status until conquered, together with the Transvaal, by Britain half a century later.

The year 1854, which saw the birth of the second of the two Boer Republics, was also that in which the Cape Colony obtained its first elected Parliament. This body was destined to build a fine tradition, especially after responsible government was granted in 1872, and the first Cape Cabinet was elected from its ranks and made responsible to Parliament. Modelled on British parliamentary forms, the Cape Parliament was to serve eventually as a model for the legislature of a united South Africa.

Meanwhile the events set in motion by the Great Trek had, in less than twenty years, 'balkanized' South Africa, dividing it into the two independent Boer Republics, one north and one south of the Vaal River, two British colonies — the Cape, the senior one; and Natal, previously a Voortrekker Republic. Natal was converted by immigration from Britain, after 1850, into a predominantly English-speaking colony with a scant White and very large Bantu population. The large Bantu population called for constant vigilance and careful planning. To add to its troubles Natal introduced indentured British Indian labour for its sugar-plantations in 1860, without making proper pro-

vision for their repatriation, thus adding a fourth element to South Africa's racial pattern of Whites, Bantu and Cape Coloureds. At first the Asians confined themselves to Natal, but before the end of the century they had settled in the Cape and in the Transvaal as well.

There were various Bantu tribal settlements in and around the Boer Republics and the two British colonies. A large block of Xhosa and other Nguni tribes lived between the Cape and Natal; the Zulu lived to the north of Natal; and there was a great arc of Bantu settlements partially encircling the Boer Republics, starting on the Bechuanaland or Kalahari side with a scattered belt of Tswana tribes and continuing in the north with North Sotho and Venda, and in the east, near the Portuguese territory of Mozambique, with the Tsonga and the Swazi, neighbours of the militant Zulu. Inside the encircling Bantu areas there were scattered areas of South Sotho, including the mountain fortress where the great Moshoeshoe had gathered together the peoples who had fled in terror from Shaka and Dingane and established the baSotho nation, the people of Basutoland, a geographical and political enclave to this day. In the century following the death of the first Moshoeshoe, his country became in turn a British colony, a dependency of the Cape, once again a British colony, and finally in 1966, an independent state.



Imperialism

From the 1850's onwards the two Boer Republics, both with small populations existing on a pastoral economy, were finding their feet, establishing the basic machinery of government and coping as best they could with a primitive Bantu population with whom they had to live in peace. Their problem was similar to that of the British colonies and so, throughout South Africa, people came to realise that a common Bantu policy was essential if the structure of a Western way of life was to remain intact. From 1857 to 1859 the first abortive moves were made towards some form of federation of the Republics, either individually or with the colonies. However, the spectacular discoveries between 1867 and 1871 of diamonds in the arid regions of

Griqualand West changed the economic and political scene completely. The alluvial diggings along the Vaal River and the rich volcanic 'pipes' of blue ground at the new town of Kimberley were like a magnet to fortune-seekers throughout the world. South Africa began to feel the economic stimulus of the new wealth which followed the dreary years of depression in the sixties. But the scene was marred by bitter disputes over the ownership of the diamond fields which involved both Boer Republics and numerous Griqua and Tswana chiefs.

Britain sought to end the disputes in 1871 by annexing the diamond fields and turning the territory into the Crown Colony of Griqualand West. This aroused great antipathy in the Orange Free State, where the annexation was regarded as an act of cynical injustice and rapacity. There were unmistakable signs that British policy was no longer



An early photograph of Market Square, Kimberley. The discovery of diamonds in this area in 1866 is usually associated with the beginning of the industrial era in South Africa.

one of apathy, though imperialism did not really assert itself against the Boer Republics until the eighties. After 1875, however, British policy changed and a renewed effort was made to federate South Africa. Diplomatic methods failed, and more forceful steps were taken. Britain annexed the Transvaal in 1877; this unleashed vehement Boer opposition which was supported by Afrikaners in the Cape Colony. By 1881 the prospect of a federated South Africa had faded, the first Anglo-Boer War had reversed the Transvaal annexation, and British arms had suffered a humiliating defeat at the hands of the Boers at the Battle of Majuba Hill.

After Majuba one of the outstanding features of Cape Colonial politics was active participation by Afrikaners, who for decades had been passive spectators of the political scene. Under the guidance of its journalist leader, Jan Hendrik Hofmeyr (1845-1909), the Afrikaner Bond was to play a decisive role in the Cape Parliament until the beginning of the twentieth century. This period of Afrikaner influence coincided with the uneventful development of the 'Model Republic' of the Orange Free State under three successive presidents - Brand, Reitz and Steyn - and with the rule of the forceful Paul Kruger (1825-1904) as State President of the South African Republic from 1883 to 1902. Throughout the years of Kruger's presidency, the Transvaal was the focus of attention. The awakening of colonial ambition and imperialism in Europe had brought Germany to the scene in 1884 to raise the imperial flag on the west coast north of the Orange River. There Germany annexed a territory one and a half times as large as the Germany of

those days, before Britain or the Cape Government had even realised that Bismarck had colonial ambitions. Germany's annexation of the territory now known as South West Africa was an incentive to British imperialism to act. Britain's expansionist policy began in 1885. The Transvaal was firmly prevented from expanding westwards into Bechuanaland, and the first British probes were made across the Limpopo River into land where hunters and concession-seekers were paving the way for the establishment of the Rhodesia of the future.

In the fifteen years before the war between Britain and the Boer Republics broke out in October 1899, British imperialism in Southern Africa gathered momentum. In the words of Dr W. J. Leyds, Paul Kruger's State Secretary, it was clearly a relentless policy of 'surrounding' the Transvaal and her sister-republic, the Orange Free State. While this political and economic hemming-in of the Republics was taking place, Cecil John Rhodes (1853-1902), diamond magnate of Kimberley and Prime Minister of the Cape Colony from 1890 to 1895, appeared on the scene. Rhodes was an empire-builder, bitterly opposed to Paul Kruger whose independent Transvaal he saw as the main obstacle to a united Southern Africa under British rule. The Transvaal was no longer a struggling Republic inhabited only by farmers. The discovery in 1886 of the world's richest gold-bearing reef on the Witwatersrand, where the city of Johannesburg mushroomed on the bare veld in a matter of a few years, gave Kruger economic strength and political importance. In the nineties the Cape and Natal railways from the coastal ports were linked with Johannes-



Cecil John Rhodes (1853–1902), Premier of the Cape Colony, 1890–1896.



Jan Hendrik Hofmeyr (1845–1909), who was known as “Onze Jan”. He was founder, together with S. J. du Toit, of the *Afrikaner Bond* and its leader from 1883 onwards.

burg; Delagoa Bay was linked with Pretoria via a route over territory that was not under British authority. The new railways introduced an alien population, the Uitlanders, to Johannesburg. Most of them were British subjects whom Rhodes tried to use in the abortive Jameson Raid of 1895–96 in an attempt to overthrow the Kruger Government - a scheme of which the British Government had foreknowledge.

Settlement by War

Rhodes hoped to use the Afrikaner Bond and Hofmeyr as political allies in order to realise his imperialistic aims south of the Zambezi, but these hopes were finally shattered by the failure of Jameson's raid into the Transvaal. Stronger hands took up Rhodes's task. After 1895 Britain's quarrel with the Transvaal was conducted by representatives of Lord Salisbury's Unionist Government, which was to direct the British Empire at the pinnacle of its power for ten years (i.e. until 1905). The chief executors of Tory policy in South Africa were Joseph Chamberlain, the Colonial Secretary, and his High Commissioner in South Africa, Sir Alfred Milner. Tension between Britain and the

Transvaal over the status and political rights of British subjects on the Witwatersrand mounted steadily. Despite concessions by Kruger, and earnest efforts by political leaders in the Orange Free State and the Cape who tried desperately to prevent a tragedy, the second Anglo-Boer War broke out on 11 October 1899.

Britain's war on 'Krugerism' lasted thirty-two months. When peace came on 31 May 1902 with the signing of the Treaty of Vereeniging, the curtain came down on a struggle in which the heroism of the Boer farmer-soldier, defending his republican independence against the overwhelming might of the British Empire, had astonished the civilized world. The names of Boer generals such as Christiaan de Wet, the brilliant guerilla tactician, Koos de la Rey, Louis Botha, Christiaan Beyers and Jan Smuts became known even in remote corners of the globe. But the popular outcry in every country of Europe and the New World (even in Britain itself, where the Liberal Opposition had labelled the bloody work of Chamberlain as 'methods of barbarism') did not effect a single move to stop the war. And so the war ran its course, not only in the two Republics, but also in Natal and in the Cape Colony which were invaded by Boer forces. For the next two years mobile commandos harassed British columns and penetrated to the Atlantic seaboard, drawing Colonial Afrikaner rebels into



Marthinus Theunis Steyn (1857–1916), last elected President of the Orange Free State, 1896–1902, and a prominent figure at the National Convention of 1908–1909.



Stephanus Johannes Paulus Kruger (1825–1904), President of the Transvaal Republic for almost twenty years (1883–1902).

their ranks, and causing the Colony to be placed under martial law.

Faced with annihilation the Boer Republics took the agonising decision to surrender their independence. The cost of the war was high. Almost every farm in the two Republics was a burnt ruin; 26 000 Boer women and children had died of epidemic diseases in 'refugee camps' into which they had been herded after the destruction of the farms; the price Britain paid was £191 000 000 in sterling, and 98 000 in casualties (including 7 000 dead) from half-a-million men who had fought on the British side. Apart from civilian deaths in camps, the Boer commandos of the Republics had lost about 5 000 in battle out of a total active fighting force which probably never exceeded 35 000. The merciless scorched earth policy, pursued by the British army in the last two years of mobile war, had destroyed Boer homes and almost all crops and livestock, even poultry.

The Afrikaners of the conquered Republics returned from commando and from exile on the islands of St. Helena, Ceylon and Bermuda to destitution in their homeland, bereavement in most families and to the bitter knowledge that it was as British subjects in British colonies that they would have to take up the threads of life again.

The war of 1899–1902, like the Great Trek, was an event of crucial importance in shaping the course of South

African history. The land between German South West Africa in the west and Portuguese Mozambique in the east was now British South Africa, coloured a uniform red on the map for the first time since the Voortrekkers had crossed the Cape Colony boundaries to occupy the northern interior. The sons of the Voortrekkers were forced back into the fold by British arms to become part of a British Empire which, though badly shaken by the heroic Boer resistance, was still at the height of its imperial splendour and almost unchallenged by its rivals, Germany and France. But the fact that the independent Republics had disappeared paved the way for a closer political union in South Africa, a union that had been unsuccessfully attempted on several occasions before 1900.

This was one outcome of the war. Another was the stimulus it gave to Afrikaner nationalism. The example set by the Republican Boers, who had suffered so much for the sake of independence, inspired the Afrikaners in the Cape Colony. The loss of the two Republics brought the Afrikaners closer together than they had ever been before. While the Republics had existed the Cape Afrikaners, who were British subjects, were looked upon with distrust. But in 1875 it was in Paarl, near Cape Town, that the first movement to gain recognition for Afrikaans as a language in its own right was started, and it was a movement with strong



General Christiaan Rudolph de Wet, famous Boer general of the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902.



General Koos (Jacobus Hercules) De La Rey, the "Lion of the Western Transvaal", who led the Boer commandos from that part of the country throughout the Anglo-Boer War.

political, even republican, undertones. The period after 1902 witnessed the re-entry of republican Afrikaners into politics, after the founding of their own political parties in the Transvaal and in the Orange River Colony, and a union between them and the Cape Afrikaners to urge language equality between English and Afrikaans in all spheres. It was also during these years that a second Afrikaans language movement was launched to pave the way throughout the country for the eventual triumph of Afrikaans. Afrikaans was the youngest member of the family of European languages and was to grow and mature in the course of some 50 years - a striking achievement for any language.

Reconstruction and Union

During the uneasy years of reconstruction - between 1902 and 1910 - the British administrators in the former Republics were engaged in rehabilitating farmers who had lost everything, the gold-mining industry was re-started and the problems of railways and customs tariffs between the four colonies were solved. During this period the movement towards political union which was strongly supported by

Boer and Briton alike, was gathering momentum. As early as 1906 and 1907 the Liberal Government in Britain granted responsible government to the two former Republics, so that colonial Parliaments, under Boer leadership, came into being in the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony alongside the older Cape and Natal Parliaments. Soon the men who had been bitter enemies in the war sat together in the National Convention (1908-1909) to draft a highly important Bill. The Bill was passed shortly afterwards by the British Parliament and became the South Africa Act which defined the constitution of the Union of South Africa, taking effect from 31 May 1910. Thus the Union of South Africa took its place as a self-governing Dominion within the British Empire alongside the Dominions of Canada, New Zealand and Australia.

With the exception of minor amendments designed to meet specific circumstances, the constitution and form of government of South Africa in 1910 remained virtually unchanged until the birth of the Republic of South Africa in 1961. But even then the constitution was not radically changed. Its main feature now, as in 1910, is that South Africa is a unitary state in which the overriding legislative power is vested in a Central Parliament consisting of a Senate and a House of Assembly, with an executive Cabinet, which is similar to the British Government. Some fede-



Participants in the first, abortive peace negotiations which took place at Middelburg, Transvaal, in March, 1901, included General Louis Botha and Lord Kitchener, seated centre foreground surrounded by members of their respective staffs

ral features have been retained: the erstwhile colonies have become four provinces, each with an elected Provincial Council with legislative powers limited mainly to the fields of education, hospital services and local government. The provinces are subordinate to the Central Government and financially partially dependent on it.

The three British High Commission Territories of Basutoland (now Lesotho), Bechuanaland (now Botswana) and Swaziland, and also Rhodesia were excluded from the Union. Though provision was made in a special schedule to the South Africa Act for the High Commission Territories to be incorporated later, subject to the approval of the British Government, this never came about. Negotiations conducted with the British Government by successive South African Governments till the 1960's foundered on the British stipulation that the High Commission Territories could only be transferred with the consent of their Bantu populations. Eventually all these territories gained independence - Botswana and Lesotho in 1966 and Swaziland in 1968.

As a compromise the extraordinary expedient of having two capital cities for the Union of South Africa was adopted in 1910. Pretoria became the administrative and Cape Town the legislative capital and the seat of Parliament, while Bloemfontein became the judicial centre housing the Appeal Court.

A United Beginning

In a spirit of optimism and with great expectations of harmony between Boer and Briton, the Union of South Africa was established on 31 May 1910, the first Prime Minister being the Boer general Louis Botha (1862-1919) who had led the Transvaal Government since 1907. A conscientious man, genial and possessed of great personal charm, Botha enjoyed the fervent loyalty of almost every Transvaaler of the Highveld who had fought under him only eight years before. In his first Union Cabinet there were two other Boer generals who were to succeed him as Prime Minister: Jan Christiaan Smuts (1870-1950), brilliant intellectual and Cambridge law graduate; and James Barry Munnik Hertzog (1866-1942), doctor of law and judge in the Orange Free State before the war. It was Botha who started the 'age of the generals', an era dominated in turn by these three personalities until 1948.

Botha's following after the first general election of 1910 consisted of 66 (mostly Afrikaners) in a house of 121 members.

Party alignment in the Union Parliament followed the pattern of the four former colonies. The British-orientated parties in opposition, led by Dr L. S. Jameson's Cape Pro-



Although it was called the Peace of Vereeniging, the treaty concluding the Anglo-Boer War on 31 May 1902 was actually signed in Pretoria at Melrose House. This building has been declared a national monument.

gressives, formed the Unionist Party which existed separately from 1910 till 1920. The South African Labour Party, also an opposition group, was formed in 1910 by Col. F. H. P. Creswell, a mining engineer, and it won four seats in the first general election. Botha's own party absorbed the former Afrikaner parties and some Independents from Natal to form the governing South African National Party (S.A.P.) in 1911, which played its part in Union politics until 1934 when it became part of the United South African National Party.

In the newly-united South Africa governed by Botha and his Cabinet, diamonds and gold - the bounty of chance - were still the main features of an economy formerly based solely on agriculture.

The four decades before Union had seen the pastoral and agricultural economy change to a mining economy, with its attendant commercial activity and railway expansion focussed on the wealth and buying power of the Witwatersrand. Industrial development, the third feature of the South African economy, had not yet begun. In the years before the First World War gold exports (stabilised after the disruption of the war of 1899-1902 at an annual £50 000 000 in value), diamonds, wool and a few other farming products made up the Union's exports, while almost all manufactured goods were imported, industry

being limited to coach and wagon-building and engineering repairs on a modest scale. It was only during the war of 1914-18 that South Africa was to experience the first indications of an industrial development that proceeded quite slowly even during the 1920's.

Though the full impact of industrialisation was still some way off at the beginning of the century, the development of a new type of economy, coupled with the unsettling effects of the Anglo-Boer War, brought about a marked shift of population, mostly of rural Afrikaners who moved to the towns. This process of urbanisation was to continue during the following generation and longer. Between 1911 and 1936 the percentage of Whites living in the cities rose from 31 per cent to 48 per cent of the total White population of the country, an influx which mainly affected the ten largest urban centres. Socially, this process of urbanisation was neither painless nor beneficial. The spectre of the 'poor white' loomed large and problems of social and economic maladjustment grew in the years preceding and following the First World War. The high hopes engendered by Union dwindled.

But the Botha Government shouldered its task. The Civil Services of the four colonies were efficiently amalgamated into a Union Civil Service; likewise, the railway systems, which had been developing since 1860 and were no less



A group photograph of the delegates to the National Convention of 1908-1909. This Convention resulted in the drafting of the Union Constitution embodied in the South Africa Act of 20 September 1909.

than 11 300 kilometres in extent in 1910, were brought under a unified administration which had its headquarters in Johannesburg. This unified administration also controlled the harbours and was called the Department of Railways and Harbours. It was conducted on business lines and had its own annual parliamentary budget. To provide for the country's defence and to place military service on a national basis, Parliament passed the Defence Act of 1912, of which General Smuts was the architect. The Act provided for the establishment of a Union Defence Force which made provision for adapting and using the traditional Boer commando system, and had among its first officers many Boer military leaders of the previous decade.

Fully alive to the urgency of providing for the future administration of the large Bantu population, the Union Parliament, as its very first act, created a Department of Native Affairs to take over the functions of the existing four colonial departments. This was followed three years later by the Bantu Land Act of 1913, an important legal enactment of the Botha Government, drafted largely by Hertzog as Minister of Native Affairs before he was excluded from the Botha Cabinet. The significance of this Act, which Hertzog himself was to elaborate on some twenty-three years later in his legislation of 1936, lies in the

introduction, for the first time, of the principle of territorial division between the Bantu and the Whites. The Act defined and scheduled some 8,9 million ha of land in the four provinces (most of it in the Eastern Cape Province) which would permanently and inalienably be recognised as Bantu land. It also stipulated that no Bantu could buy land from a Non-Bantu or vice-versa. In this manner, while protecting both races, tribal territory was ensured against erosion by the economically stronger Whites. The concept of territorial segregation, as the basis of government policy in South Africa, was not universally approved of, then as now. But the Act of 1913 was a sincere attempt to lay down equitable guide lines for the handling of a national problem that could well determine the very survival of the State. Superficially it was an effort to control the areas in which Whites and Non-Whites were to live; fundamentally it was an effort to solve the problem of interaction between advanced cultures, such as those of Europe, and primitive ones that had hardly been influenced by the European cultures with which they had been in touch for many years. Time was needed in which to establish a stable pattern of peaceful co-existence between Whites and Bantu; only such a stable pattern would ensure that the accumulated benefits of Western culture and experience would not be submerged by a people whose culture was still so primitive



The Cabinet of General Louis Botha, first Premier of the Union of South Africa, as it was constituted in 1911:
 Front (l. to r.): Dr C. O'Grady Gubbins, J. W. Sauer, Gen. Louis Botha (Prime Minister), A. Fisher and Col. G. Leuchars.
 Back (l. to r.): Gen. J. C. Smuts, K.C., Sir David de Villiers Graaff, Adv. H. Burton, K.C., H. C. Hull, Gen. J. B. M. Hertzog and F. S. Malan.

and conservative that it could not be raised from that level without long-term planning and infinite patience.

Hertzog Establishes a Party

Despite the excellent legislative achievements of the Botha Cabinet, supported by a very solid S.A.P. majority in Parliament, there were signs of a storm from two quarters. Within his party there was the influence of General Hertzog, who was opposed to the conciliatory line which Botha and his partner, Smuts, had adopted since 1907 in their dealings with British interests in South Africa. Outside the party, White labour had become organised during the first decade of the century and had found an eloquent spokesman in Creswell, leader of the Labour Party.

General Hertzog, as Minister of Education in the Orange River Colony during the two years before Union, had angered the British element and the English-language press by his steadfast insistence on language equality and bilingualism in schools. Even before he joined the Botha Cabinet, Hertzog's political enemies had coined the word 'Hertzogism' as a label to decry his defence of Afrikaner national aspirations, accusing him of fostering 'racialism' to

disrupt the conciliatory trend in relations between the two White language groups as advocated by Botha and Smuts in the Transvaal. Conversely, Hertzog's stature grew among Afrikaners who saw him as the champion of Afrikaner nationalism and who, like him, distrusted the Botha-Smuts policy of 'conciliation' which, they maintained, was being implemented at the expense of the Afrikaner.

As one of Botha's Ministers, Hertzog continued to be the target of the Unionist Opposition, now led by Sir Thomas Smartt. But Hertzog showed no intention of moderating his attitude, not even to spare his colleagues some embarrassment, committed as they were to Botha's 'conciliation' policy. In several public speeches made in 1912, Hertzog shocked those to whom Britain and the Empire meant so much. He expounded first his 'two-stream policy', his belief that Afrikaans and English culture should flow in parallel streams, and that no attempt should be made to fuse them because this would be detrimental to both. Then, in his famous De Wildt speech of 7 December 1912, to an audience in the Transvaal near Pretoria, Hertzog voiced his political motto of 'South Africa First', declaring that imperialism, by which he denoted the connection with Britain, was good only in so far as it served the interests of South Africa. In the event of a conflict of interests, he placed the interests of South Africa first. For



Lord Gladstone, first Governor-General of the Union of South Africa, 1910–1914. He was the fourth son of the nineteenth-century British statesman William Ewart Gladstone.



General Louis Botha (1862–1919), one of the Boer leaders during the Anglo-Boer War, 1899–1902. He was subsequently Premier of the Transvaal Colony, 1907–1910, and the first Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa, 1910–1919.

him, added Hertzog, the words ‘conciliation’ and ‘loyalty’ were meaningless. He was prepared to stake his entire future political career on the principles he avowed in public.

Amid the uproar that followed, Botha felt compelled, in the interest of his own party, to ask Hertzog to resign. When he refused to do so, Botha himself resigned and formed a Cabinet without Hertzog. Though he had influential support among Afrikaners, including that of the former guerilla general, Christiaan de Wet, Hertzog and his following delayed till the end of 1913 before parting company with Botha’s South African Party. Early in 1914 he founded the National Party and entered the political wilderness, facing Botha and Smuts in Parliament with a handful of supporters who took their seats beside the British-orientated Unionist Opposition and the aggressive Labour members, with whom they shared no common political ground except antagonism to the Botha Government.

Hertzog’s new party was to have a profound influence on the political future of South Africa. It began by steadily drawing away Botha’s Afrikaner support. The National Party in its programme of 1914 resolved to seek the development of national life in accordance with Christian principles; to strive for national independence; to give

priority to national interests over those of any other country or people; and to campaign for equal language rights for Dutch (soon to be replaced by Afrikaans) and English, as stipulated by the South Africa Act, both in education and in the public service.

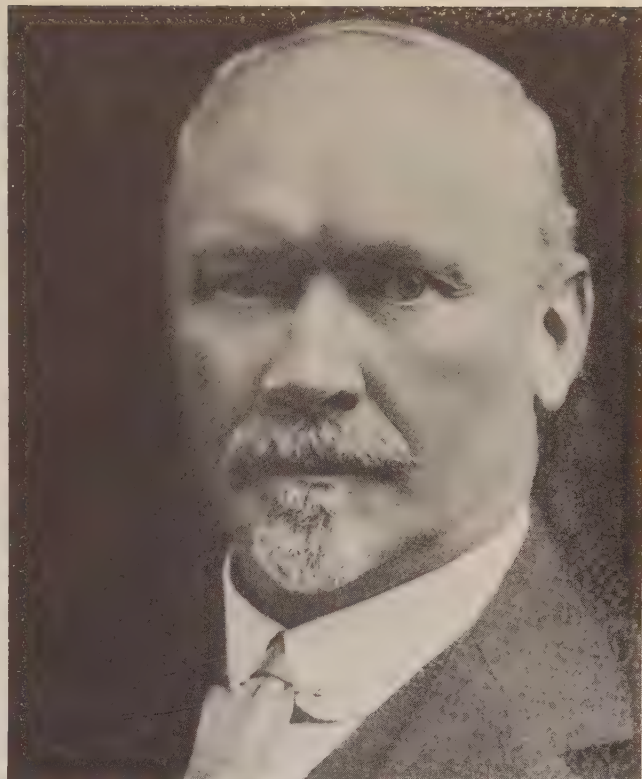
In short, it was a South African national policy in opposition to the British imperial trend. But there was no mention of a republican aim; that was to come some years later.

Louis Botha’s Uneasy Years

The years 1913 and 1914 brought more problems for the Botha Administration, in addition to the birth of the National Party. Sparked off by government legislation that was aimed at restricting the movement of Indians and Indian immigration, the Indian lawyer, M. K. Gandhi, repeated his Transvaal performance of some years before, and applied his effective technique of passive civil disobedience (or *Satyagraha*) against the Government, forcing Smuts to come to terms with him in 1914, shortly before he left for India, there to pursue his life-work applying the same means of protest.



General Christiaan Frederick Beyers, a younger Boer leader in the war of 1899–1902, head of the Union Defence Force in 1912. He drowned in the Vaal River while trying to escape from Government forces during the Rebellion of 1914.



General Jan Christiaan Smuts who succeeded General Botha as leader of the South African Party and was Prime Minister from 1919–1924 and again, as leader of the United Party, from 1939–1948.

The Gandhi protests coincided with two serious strikes on the Rand in 1913 and early in 1914. Tension between Capital and Labour came to a head despite years of effort on the part of trade unionism and its underlying currents of imported 'syndicalism', as the Botha Government called it. The forces of White labour were marshalled in the industrial areas, particularly on the Witwatersrand, in defence of skilled labour as the White man's exclusive prerogative; a dispute at the New Kleinfontein Gold Mine led to a general strike called by the Mine Workers' Union in 1913; violence and even some bloodshed followed before Botha and Smuts personally intervened and found themselves forced to yield to triumphant Labour.

In January 1914 the White mine workers of the Rand were again involved in a general strike together with railwaymen and coal miners, directed against the employment of Black workers. Smuts, as Minister of Defence, was better prepared this time to deal with the situation, and called upon his commandos and units of the Active Citizen Force to maintain order. He subdued the strike leaders by deporting them without recourse to law, putting them on a ship in the Durban harbour that was leaving for Britain.

Smuts obtained indemnity from Parliament for his actions early in 1914. But his victory spurred outraged Labour to such efforts against the Botha Government that Labour

soon afterwards actually held the majority of seats in the Transvaal Provincial Council for some time - the first and only occasion this occurred in the history of any of the provinces.

Politics and the First World War

The outbreak of war in Europe in August 1914, in which the British and German empires and their allies were involved for more than four years, also had a profound effect on South Africa. The constitutional position was clear; if Britain was at war, her enemies automatically became the enemies of the Empire to which South Africa also belonged. There was no question of neutrality. Botha found himself in a position in which, at the request of the British Government, he was expected to occupy the harbours and the capital of German South West Africa.

The decision by the Botha Government to launch an attack on 'German West' had far-reaching results. It was the direct cause of what came to be known as the 'Rebellion'. At the time the people involved called it an 'Armed Protest'. It was a disorganised, badly-armed uprising in certain districts of the Orange Free State and the Southern and



The illuminated facade of the Houses of Parliament in Cape Town, originally built in 1886 and enlarged in 1910 to accommodate the Union House of Assembly and the Senate.

Western Transvaal which was linked with the rebellion of Manie Maritz, commanding officer in the Union Defence Force and former Boer general, who was stationed with his forces at Upington near the German South West Africa border. A powerful motive on the part of Afrikaners, one that moved many a burgher and officer of the former Boer Republics to join the misguided Rebellion, was the belief that Britain's involvement in Europe was predestined to give the Afrikaner an opportunity to regain the freedom that had been taken from him in 1902 and to form a republic that would stretch from the Cape to the Zambezi.

Faced with the agonising prospect of civil war, of fighting against former comrades, Botha took it upon himself to end the Rebellion. He succeeded, with a minimum of bloodshed, during the last four months of 1914. Most of the leaders, including General Christiaan de Wet, were captured and sentenced to imprisonment after trial, but were released within two years. But the Rebellion, which was finally over by February 1915, had its martyrs: General Koos de la Rey, accidentally shot on the Rand; General Christiaan Beyers, drowned in the Vaal River; and the young officer, Jopie Fourie, executed in a Pretoria gaol on a Sunday morning on a charge of high treason after Smuts had confirmed his sentence by court-martial.

Photographs of these men adorned the walls of many Afrikaner homes for another generation, and ere long helped bring to power the political opponents of Botha and Smuts.

In a dèft campaign with hardly any losses, Botha took South West Africa from the Germans, occupying Windhoek, the capital, in May 1915 and rounding up the last defenders to the north of Windhoek soon after. Having been conquered by the Union, the whole territory of 825 000 square kilometres between the Orange River and the southern border of Portuguese Angola was placed under South African military administration; after the war it became a mandated territory to be administered by the Union of South Africa.

On his return from the campaign in South West Africa, Botha faced a general election that was conducted with unrivalled bitterness. The strong feelings against him and Smuts on account of their service to the Empire, and what was regarded as their persecution of fellow-Afrikaners during the Rebellion, had stimulated Afrikaner nationalism. Hertzog's party, which was devoid of British sentiments and opposed to the Government's war effort - which was soon to be extended by means of an expeditionary force to German East Africa - established its own newspaper, *Die Burger* (The Citizen), in Cape Town just before the

election. Dr D. F. Malan (1874-1959) was the first editor. Botha, with 54 seats, emerged from the general election of October 1915 with a reduced majority; the National Party increased its members to 27; and the Unionists, who co-operated with Botha for the duration of the war, held 40 seats. Labour, which also supported Botha's war effort, gained only three seats.

While Smuts went off in 1916 to lead the campaign against the Germans in Tanganyika, and then stayed in Britain until 1919 as counsellor to Lloyd George's Government, Botha faced the political and economic problems which had originated during the war years. While South African armed forces were fighting in East Africa, Mesopotamia, Flanders and France, and Smuts was contributing to the grand strategy of the Allies, a growing nucleus of Afrikaners began to advocate the belief that the only way of staying out of Britain's future wars was for South Africa to attain complete sovereign independence with no trace of political subordination to Great Britain.

But the republican aim, which had remained alive in the minds of many, even among Botha's followers, was not included in the National Party constitution; and Hertzog, for example, was convinced to the end of his political career that 'independence' could be achieved without necessarily severing the tie with Britain. Others such as Advocate Tielman Roos, the stormy petrel of Hertzog's party, openly urged a republic as the ultimate aim. In 1917 Roos actually published his own republican manifesto, and continued to advocate the republican ideal in his own party during the following decade. But Hertzog was prepared to work for independence by constitutional means within the British imperial framework, until the Union became Britain's political equal in all respects. He doggedly adhered to this ideal, deriding the slow pace at which Botha and Smuts had begun to move towards the same ideal.

At Versailles the enhanced international status of the Dominions was demonstrated when each Dominion signed the peace treaty with Germany independently of Great Britain. Smuts personally had contributed to this advance in status; during the war years he had formulated the concept of a British 'Commonwealth', the concept of a group of nations advancing along their individual paths towards full autonomy and equal status.

Smuts at the Helm (1919-1924)

This was not enough for Hertzog who claimed that there could only be true equality of status within the Commonwealth if the right of 'secession' were acknowledged. He thereby introduced a discordant note into South African and Imperial politics. In 1919, the year in which Botha died and Smuts automatically took his place, the growing National Party incorporated an article in its constitution which reaffirmed its aims of attaining sovereign independence and complete equality with Britain by constitutional means. Even Hertzog's republican wing had to content itself with that for the time being.

One of the results of Versailles was the establishing of a mandate system under which the mandatories were responsible to the Council of the League of Nations (not to the Assembly) for the future administration of former German colonies. Although Smuts had been one of the architects of the mandate system (and of the international body itself), he had never intended that South West Africa should be brought into the system. He had urged, rather, that its circumstances were such that its best prospects for future development lay in annexation to South Africa.

The outright annexation of former German colonies by the victorious powers was not, however, acceptable to President Wilson of the United States. Accordingly, as a compromise, Botha and Smuts were obliged to accept a mandate formula in terms of which the Territory would be governed as an integral part of the Union. At the time the practical effect of this arrangement was termed 'annexation in all but name'. Thus the Union added to its responsibilities the administration of a vast tract of land which Afrikaners had helped to develop and in which they formed an important element of the sparse White population.

The mandate came into effect at the end of 1920 when a civil administration, headed by an Administrator, was instituted. In 1925 it received a constitution that provided for a local Executive Committee and an elected Legislative Assembly. The railway system of the territory had already been linked to that of the Union at Upington in 1915, during the military campaign.

Despite a period of apparent prosperity from 1915 till 1920, the Smuts Government ran into difficulties within months of his assuming the premiership because of the inflationary effects of the war. In the general election of March 1920 Smuts actually won four fewer seats than the Nationalists and he had to depend on Sir Thomas Smartt's Unionists for a majority over the Nationalists and the 21 Labour members. An attempt at 'reunion' between the Hertzog party and Smuts's South African Party failed. The position became untenable and Smuts was compelled to solve his problem by amalgamating the 'imperialist' section of the Opposition, the Unionist Party, with his own S.A.P. in order to meet the challenge presented by Hertzog and by Creswell's Labour Party. Calling another general election in February 1921, Smuts emerged with a strong majority, inflated by the inclusion of the former Unionists and by some gains from the Labour Party.

When Smuts formed his second Cabinet in 1921, however, he was already in the midst of a spate of political adversity which, in the course of some four years, was to deprive him of power. The post-war boom was over and the Union, together with the rest of the world, was hit by a collapse of prices which started in the United States in 1920 and lasted until 1923, by which time the tide began to turn. South Africa abandoned the gold standard, agriculture was faced with ruin, low-grade gold mines closed down, and unemployment became a major problem, especially on the Witwatersrand where nearly half the White population of the Transvaal was concentrated. The drift from rural areas had become an important factor by the early twenties, adding an element of predominantly Afrikaner semi-skilled labour to industrial urban areas.

Against this grim economic background the Smuts Government encountered various crises.

The first was the Bulhoek 'massacre' in May 1921, near Queenstown, in which 163 Bantu were killed and many wounded by machine-gun fire when a mob of Bantu who belonged to a fanatical religious sect attacked the police. Though the authorities were subsequently exonerated by a judicial enquiry, the outcry raised by Smuts's opponents created an image of Smuts as a cold-blooded, ruthless man. Bulhoek was followed by widespread violence in March 1922. Vandalism and bloodshed were rife when Smuts proclaimed martial law to put down a strike by White mine workers, which had been sparked off by disputes over the ratio between White and Bantu labour, and supported by strong Marxist influences. Biting criticism of Smuts's methods during the strike, or 'Red Revolt', rose to a crescendo of condemnation when, only two months after the Rand uprising, Smuts used military aeroplanes to drop bombs on to the rebellious Bondelswart Hottentot tribe in South West Africa, killing more than one hundred people. The events of the strike had stimulated Labour opposition to Smuts on the Rand. Tielman Roos, on behalf of the National Party, had made political capital out of Smuts's difficulties, for by now many of the White mine workers were Afrikaners. Partly to counteract the growing opposition to his Government, Smuts made a determined attempt to persuade Southern Rhodesia to join the Union. In a referendum held in October 1922, Rhodesia, where crown colony rule was about to end, rejected his overtures and elected to go its own way as a self-governing colony.



General James Barry Munnik Hertzog (1866–1942), founder of the National Party and Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa from 1924–1939.

Hertzog and the Pact Government

The sands were running out for the S.A.P. Government. In April 1923 the Labour and the National Parties formed an election 'pact', Hertzog having agreed to leave the contentious issue of secession in abeyance for the time being. Denounced by Smuts and his party as an 'unholy alliance' of Christian Afrikaners and 'Bolsheviks', and an abandonment by Hertzog of his independence ideal, the 'Pact' was, nevertheless, strong enough to win the general election of June 1924 which Smuts had called soon after losing an important by-election at Wakkerstroom in the Eastern Transvaal. Smuts's following in the Assembly had shrunk to 54, as against 63 for Hertzog, 17 for Labour and one Independent member.

The third of the Boer generals to lead a Union Government had arrived on the scene. Hertzog, a tenacious fighter, left the political wilderness in which he had been for twelve years, ready to prove that the South Africanism he had proclaimed at De Wildt was intended to embrace both language groups of European origin, and that he was willing to grapple with constitutional and economic problems as well as with the urgent task of guiding the future development of the Non-White races of South Africa.

In the 'Pact' Ministry of ten, of whom only Hertzog had cabinet experience, there were two Labour Ministers. In 1925 Hertzog added a third Labour Minister. Despite the

misgivings voiced by its opponents, the new team faced its legislative task boldly and successfully during the next five years, aided by a period of economic buoyancy which was to last until the great economic slump of 1929. Gold production was increasing; the new Minister of Finance, N. C. Havenga, could produce surpluses in his budgets, and in May 1925 South Africa returned to the gold standard. Furthermore, the production of diamonds more than doubled in the four years before 1927, thanks to new alluvial discoveries in the Western Transvaal. This was followed soon afterwards by spectacular diamond discoveries by the geologist, Dr Hans Merensky, in the sandy Namaqualand coastal strip south of the Orange River.

Mindful of the lessons of the great Rand industrial disturbances of 1922, the Hertzog Government introduced the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1924 and the Wage Act of 1925. Though often amended since, these measures have, in essence, remained the foundations of an industrial peace probably unequalled anywhere in the world. The Pact Government was the first to introduce legislation for the specific protection of industries in 1925. In this way it stimulated the industrial development of the country and created opportunities for employment at a time when the drift from rural to industrial areas was exacerbating the 'poor white' problem. Understandably, the Government



The first Hertzog Cabinet, the National Party-Labour Party Pact Cabinet of 1924:

Front (l. to r.): P. G. W. Grobler, Col. F. H. P. Creswell, Gen. J. B. M. Hertzog (Prime Minister), Earl of Athlone (Governor-General), Adv. T. J. de V. Roos, Dr D. F. Malan and T. Boydell.

Back (l. to r.): Official, Adv. F. W. Beyers, N. C. Havenga, C. W. Malan, Gen. J. C. G. Kemp and three officials.

exerted itself to extend the scope of White employment during this period of social transition, which chiefly affected rural Afrikaners. Despite vigorous opposition the policy of 'civilized labour', which favoured White semi-skilled labourers on the State-owned railways, was carried through in 1925, with the main objective of alleviating poverty in the farming areas.

In line with its policy of industrial development, the Hertzog Government, after a bitter parliamentary struggle against the S.A.P. during 1927-28, succeeded in March 1928 in establishing the South African Iron and Steel Industrial Corporation (IsCOR) in Pretoria, in which the State itself held a controlling interest. IsCOR went into production in 1934 to exploit South Africa's vast resources of coal and iron ore. It was destined, under the guidance of the brilliant South African scientist and engineer Dr Hendrik van der Bijl, to become of vital importance to the South African economy.

Ever since 1921, Hertzog, in defining his policy, had indicated his plans for the material and political development of the Bantu, the Indians and the Coloured people. What Hertzog then called 'segregation' for the Bantu, which was to be applied in modified form to the Indians and the Coloured people as well, bore a remarkable resemblance to the policy of separate development which

Hertzog's own National Party after many vicissitudes was to implement more than two decades later, during the period after 1948. But Hertzog, struggling as he was in 1925 against a strong S.A.P. Opposition, which still held a majority in the Senate, could not get his four Bills on Bantu franchise and the rights of Coloured people passed in the sessions of 1925-27. He had to bide his time - till 1936 as it turned out - to achieve even what he had envisaged for the Bantu.

The mid-twenties were years of dour debate and bitter controversy in the Union Parliament; one welcome exception was the amicable acceptance in 1925 - due mainly to the persuasive eloquence of Senator C. J. Langenhoven, the Afrikaans author - of Afrikaans as an official language of the Union instead of Dutch. Not so placid, on the other hand, was the issue of a national flag, first proposed in Parliament in 1925 by Hertzog's Minister of the Interior, Dr D. F. Malan, the man who was destined to lead Nationalism long after Hertzog had disappeared from the scene.

In the sessions of 1925-27 the 'flag issue' became an acrimonious wrangle over a design that would suit both Afrikaner and English sentiments. The result was a compromise: the orange-white-and-blue flag of 17th century Holland, with a centre-piece consisting of the Union Jack





Map of the Republic of South Africa and the Territory of South West Africa showing their political boundaries with neighbouring countries.



Blast furnaces at the Vanderbijlpark works of the South African Iron and Steel Industrial Corporation (ISCOR), the establishment of which (1928-1934) was one of the main achievements during Premier Hertzog's term of office.

and the flags of the two former Boer Republics. But part of the compromise was not concerned with design: it was enacted that on certain occasions the Union Jack would continue to be flown alongside the National Union flag. This two-flag arrangement continued until 1957 when Parliament finally eliminated, by means of a free vote, the official display of the Union Jack.

Independence within the Empire

In 1923 Hertzog formed his pact with the Labour Party (consisting mostly of English-speaking members), and it was part of the bargain that he and his party would not urge an alteration in the status of the Union. To this undertaking he adhered, but it in no way prevented him from pursuing his constitutional ideal of confirming the sovereign independence of the Union within the British Empire. In 1926 he left for the Imperial Conference in London, not to alter but to seek definition and clarification of the existing status of the Union as a Dominion, and to insist on the right of a Dominion to alter its status. What Smuts had been formulating in theory since 1917 without thought of or desire for a written definition, Hertzog wished to have formally recognised by Britain and the sister-dominions. He therefore went to London in October 1926 to ask for more than Smuts and his friends thought necessary, but

less than Roos and the Republicans in his party were hoping for.

Forcing the pace at the Imperial Conference, Hertzog, supported by the other Dominions, obtained the definition of status he desired, the wording of which had required eight drafts before Hertzog was satisfied. The historic Balfour Declaration of November 1926 defined the Dominions as autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate to one another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown, and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

On his return Hertzog claimed that he had brought back independence and sovereign status for South Africa, and that the old dominating British Empire no longer existed; that it had been replaced by free and equal partnership. He was satisfied with his achievement, though some (even among his own followers) were quick to point to signs of overlordship which remained and Smuts continued to deny that the new status gave the Union the right of neutrality in war, or the right to secede from the Empire. These were points on which Smuts stood firm in his relations with Hertzog up to 1939.

Though the status declaration of 1926 only became law by virtue of the Statute of Westminster in 1931, when the British Parliament renounced its legislative functions in relation to the Dominions, Hertzog did not wait before



OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER
AND
MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

CAPETOWN,

31st May, 1934.

Approved

George R. D.

June 22nd 1934.

General Hertzog, Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs in the Union of South Africa, with his humble duty to the King, begs to submit to Your Majesty a Bill "to Provide for the declaration of the Status of the Union of South Africa; for certain amendments of the South Africa Act, 1909, incidental thereto, and for the adoption of certain parts of the Statute of Westminster, 1931" which His Excellency the Governor-General has reserved for the signification of Your Majesty's pleasure.

Your Majesty's MINISTERS for the Union have given their earnest consideration to this Bill and beg to submit that Your Majesty may be graciously pleased to signify Your Majesty's assent thereto by making an endorsement to that effect either on this submission or upon the Bill itself.

All of which is submitted by Your Majesty's
humble, and obedient servant,

J. B. Hertzog

A copy of the covering minute, signed by General Hertzog and endorsed as approved by King George V, which accompanied the text of the Status of the Union Act, passed by the Union Parliament in 1934 in terms of which South Africa, as provided for in the Statute of Westminster (1931), became a sovereign, international State within the British Commonwealth of Nations.

establishing his own Department of External Affairs (1927) and sending abroad South African diplomats (1929), the first of these being appointed in Holland. During 1929-30 the posts of British High Commissioner and Governor-General were separated; the former was to represent the British Government, the latter the Crown.

Disregarding the disappointed murmurs by Republicans in his own party, Hertzog made it clear that he had no further constitutional ambitions. The 'Pact' went to the polls at the end of its first five years of office, although the Labour Party was rent by internal dissension and Hertzog had already broken in 1928 with those Labourites opposed to the leadership of his loyal friend Colonel Creswell. In the 1929 election the National Party was returned with an overall majority of seven. Smuts's S.A.P. had lost further ground in the rural constituencies, and Creswell had only eight seats left. Though Hertzog could thus have left Labour out, he retained Creswell and even included a second Labour Minister in his Cabinet. Absent from the new Cabinet was

Tielman Roos, the restless, ambitious and scheming challenger to Hertzog's leadership, who had retired for reasons of health and been elevated to the bench of the Appeal Court.

From Depression to Coalition

Success at the polls was, however, followed by a serious economic depression which crippled the Union, and the rest of the world, for more than four years. It began with the Wall Street collapse of 1929 in the U.S.A. and world trade recession reached 60 per cent at its peak. Though the effects were to some extent cushioned in the Union by the fixed price of gold, the country's agricultural exports were disastrously hit, decreasing considerably in the lean years before 1933, especially when Finance Minister Havenga decided, in September 1931, not to follow the British example of abandoning the gold standard. Coupled with the drift of indigent Afrikaners from the farms and grave unemployment in the cities, the gold standard issue became a central political theme towards the end of 1932. Already under pressure, both from mining interests and many of its own supporters who championed the abandoning of the gold standard as an obvious means of breaking the stranglehold of the depression, the Government was suddenly confronted in December 1932 by a dramatic political development.

In a speech on 16 December, Judge Tielman Roos announced his impending resignation from the Bench and urged the abandoning of the gold standard. He advocated a 'national government' for the country. Roos's sudden re-entry into politics not only caused confusion and uncertainty within the National Party ranks, but a wild flight of capital from the country in anticipation of profits in the event of the abandoning of gold. All the supports of the gold standard had been undermined. Havenga was forced to yield. Before the end of 1932 the gold standard had been abandoned. Early in 1933 an almost instantaneous economic improvement became noticeable, though an unprecedented drought prolonged the difficulties of the farmers for some time.

But Roos's intervention had an unexpected side-effect. The idea of a national government which he had put forward became a reality in February 1933, but not in the way Roos, who saw himself in an active role, had planned. Smuts made the initial approaches and Hertzog, shaken by the financial storm Roos had unleashed and by the bleak years of economic despondency, agreed to negotiate. By the end of February 1933 he had made his decision: he would accept Smuts's 'hand of friendship' and form a coalition government with the S.A.P. He would remain Prime Minister; Smuts had offered to serve under him as Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Justice. The two parties would retain their identity and co-operate on a basis of seven points, drafted by Hertzog in such a way that he was personally satisfied that he had not sacrificed his political aims, and had not exposed his party to the 'wiles' of Smuts, as many of his followers feared. But the



The Hertzog Coalition Cabinet of 1933:

Front (l. to r.): P. G. W. Grobler, P. Duncan, Gen. J. B. M. Hertzog (Prime Minister), Earl of Clarendon (Governor-General), Gen. J. C. Smuts, N. C. Havenga and Adv. O. Pirow.

Back (l. to r.): Sen. C. F. Clarkson, R. Stuttaford, Col. D. Reitz, Gen. J. C. G. Kemp, A. P. J. Fourie, J. H. Hofmeyr and official.

undefined differences in the coalition programme - the 'divisibility' of the Crown, the right of secession, and of neutrality in the event of war - eventually caused the disruption which was to end the era of co-operation six years later. There were serious misgivings on both sides. On the Nationalist side Dr D. F. Malan, Minister of the Interior and of Education, was emerging as a dissident; he mistrusted Smuts and accused him of following a path that would be disastrous to the National Party as well as to the country. On Smuts's side the imperialist and British view had exponents such as Col Charles F. Stallard who were distinctly ill at ease at the prospect of an alliance with Hertzog.

Nevertheless, everyone entered into the spirit of coalition, and took part in the strangely friendly general election of May 1933, in which the main parties did not oppose each other, and Hertzog found himself leading a combined following of 138 members, with only six members on the Opposition benches. In the country at large the economy was rapidly recovering. Boom conditions and the capital surpluses from mining and real estate were surpassing the great days of the 1890's. This was no pseudo-prosperity, like that prior to 1929, for the buoyancy was to last, except for one minor recession in 1937, until the outbreak of the Second World War.

There were signs during the first months of coalition of a movement to fuse the two parties into a united governing party. But Malan and the Cape National Party congress had agreed to coalition under protest, and it was evident that they would flatly refuse to have anything to do with the movement towards fusion (*samesmelting*) because this would deprive the National Party of its identity. Moreover, it was clear that a section of Hertzog's own party would similarly reject the idea of fusion. This became a major issue and a parting of the ways took place in the middle of 1934, after protracted negotiations between Hertzog and Malan.

Meanwhile Smuts and almost the entire House of Assembly supported Hertzog when, early in 1934, the Status Bills were passed. These two enactments crowned Hertzog's constitutional endeavours; they were designed to confirm by Acts of the Union Parliament the understanding (which had existed since the Balfour Declaration and the Statute of Westminster) that the Union Parliament was in no way subject to any legislative control by the British Parliament, and that the Crown acted solely on the advice of South African Ministers in matters concerning South Africa. Hertzog had reached his goal: the Union was a sovereign international state within the British Commonwealth. To emphasise this, Hertzog introduced two further well-

timed acts on the abdication of Edward VIII in 1936 and the accession of George VI in 1937, and had Sir Patrick Duncan appointed as Governor-General in the same year. He was the first South African to hold this position.

After Hertzog had finally given up his efforts to persuade Malan to follow him into fusion, he joined the new United South African National Party (United Party). It was founded in December 1934 and is still one of the main political parties in South Africa. The South African Party ceased to exist and only a small number of Smuts's supporters left to form Col C. F. Stallard's Dominion Party; but the original National Party was kept alive by Dr Malan and his nineteen followers in Parliament as the (Purified) National Party - the *Gesuiwerdes* or 'Malanites'. This party survived eventually to become the governing party under Malan in 1948.

Fusion: Its Achievements and Failures

The years of fusion, from 1934 until the outbreak of the Second World War, were characterised by a dynamic programme of legislation in many fields, handled by an able Cabinet which included, apart from men such as Hertzog, Smuts and Havenga, the intellectual prodigy Jan H. Hofmeyr (1894-1948) who was destined to play an important part in ministerial work till the year of his death. The new governing party also showed unmistakable signs of a unity of spirit - an increasing degree of tact and the acceptance of many of the ideas that had driven Hertzog into the political wilderness thirty years earlier.

But between Hertzog and those who had followed him into the United Party on the one hand, and the Malan Opposition on the other, there was much bitterness, even at a personal level, and recrimination. Hertzog regarded the Malanites as misguided people who had no just claim to the monopoly of nationalism, and were motivated only by their built-in mistrust of Smuts; the 'Purified' Nationalists directed a personal attack against Hertzog whom they regarded as a defector from Afrikanerdom and a betrayer of the very principles he had previously championed. Malan and his supporters did not accept, as did Hertzog, that the cultural and constitutional struggle had ended for the Afrikaner. In his struggle Malan, faced with the formidable task of reviving the body of the National Party which Hertzog's departure had left in complete disarray, had the growing support of Afrikaans cultural leaders and of Afrikaans Calvinism, which had always played a decisive part in the growth towards national consciousness. The intellectual and cultural nucleus of Afrikanerdom sustained Malan in these difficult, early years.

Riding on the wave of prosperity, South Africa was beginning to show many signs of material progress. Iscor, founded amid strife in 1928, began producing iron and steel in 1934, tapping the country's vast resources of high-grade ore that contained 60 per cent or more metallic iron. Iscor, prodigious in its growth, was to become a corner-stone of South African industry; and the country still had an almost

limitless mass of iron ore that was untouched and could, eventually, be used for a gigantic export programme.

The 'poor white problem' of the previous decade was eliminated in the thirties by economic diversification and progressive industrialisation. The national economy also benefited from a road-building programme, begun under the National Roads Act of 1935, which established a fund to finance the building of national macadamised roads. This was the responsibility of the Central Government, which instituted a National Roads Board. Interrupted only during the war of 1939-45, this project produced more than 8 000 kilometres of national roads during the following thirty years, bringing more than 60 per cent of the White population within 16 kilometres of a national road. The private internal air services of the Union were taken over by the Government in 1934 and became South African Airways (as part of the Department of Railways and Harbours); this service was extended in 1935 when services to South West Africa were incorporated and a link with Imperial Airways for the London route was established. It was only after the war (1939-45) that South African Airways embarked on a spectacular expansion which was to take the flying Springbok to many international airports - from Rio de Janeiro and New York to London, Frankfurt and Sydney. In 1936 the pioneer private radio company in South Africa was taken over and transformed into the South African Broadcasting Corporation, which still controls all broadcasting in South Africa. The Marketing Act of 1937, which stabilised prices in agriculture and set up control boards for agricultural commodities, has remained the basis of legislation in this field.

The two most significant enactments by the Fusion Cabinet were the two Acts of 1936 in regard to Bantu franchise and land. The policy of political, economic and social segregation for the Bantu, which Hertzog had propounded in his manifesto of 1925, had been the basis of his Bills of 1926, which were rejected in 1929 by a Parliament in which he did not have an adequate majority. The Bills were then considered for years by a joint select committee which produced a majority and a minority report in 1935. Because the fundamental issue in one of the proposed Bills was the amendment of the Bantu franchise in the Cape, where the Bantu had since 1853 enjoyed the franchise along with the Coloured and White population on a common electoral roll, a two-thirds majority of both Houses of Parliament in joint session was required for this amendment to the constitution. Hertzog had this majority, but he was compelled to modify his original intention in regard to the Bantu franchise to accommodate views within the United Party, before bringing before Parliament the two Bills which became law in April 1936. The Bantu Representation Act removed the Bantu of the Cape Province from the common voters' roll, but gave them the right to elect three White members to the House of Assembly on a separate Cape Bantu roll; and Bantu electoral colleges were instituted in all provinces to elect four White members of the Senate. Provision was also made for a Native Representative Council of Bantu members, to act in an advisory capacity. The second Act, the Bantu Trust and Land Act, gave effect to provisions in the Bantu Land Act of 1913 for the



The War Cabinet of General J. C. Smuts, 1939:

Front (l. to r.): J. H. Hofmeyr, Gen. J. C. Smuts (Prime Minister), Sir Patrick Duncan (Governor-General), Col. D. Reitz, R. Stuttaford and W. R. Collins. Back (l. to r.): Dr C. F. Steyn, Adv. H. G. Lawrence, Sen. A. M. Conroy, Maj. P. G. V. van der Byl, F. C. Sturrock, Sen. C. F. Clarkson, Col. C. F. Stallard and W. B. Madeley.

purchase of additional land, to be held in trust for the Bantu (private ownership of land is alien to their way of life) and to provide more living space for the growing Bantu population. When the Union was established the three High Commission Territories that represent a vast area, had been reserved for the Bantu and had been excluded from the Union of South Africa. The Acts of 1936 clearly contained the basis of the future homelands policy for the Bantu. The South African Native Trust bought 8 565 000 ha of land during the following sixteen years, but only about one third of it could be utilised for agriculture by the mid-fifties, mainly because of the difficulty of inducing the Bantu to accept the principles of scientific farming and soil preservation. Attracted by employment in White industry the drift of the Bantu to the cities was becoming a very real social and residential problem for local authorities and for the Government by the end of the thirties.

Before 1939 the position of the Coloured people remained constitutionally unchanged, though Hertzog had since 1926 seriously considered the question of Coloured political rights and the extension of the Coloured franchise in the Cape to the other provinces. The Malan Opposition, and opinions within Hertzog's own party, however, were in favour of political and residential segregation for the

Coloured people. Thus the issue was left in abeyance and only taken up again in 1949, after the war. The position of the Indians (which Dr Malan as a member of the Hertzog Government had tried to regulate by negotiation and agreements in 1927 and 1931-32), also remained a problem the Fusion Cabinet was unable to solve, mainly because of persistent Indian opposition to segregation and to restrictions that affected their trading rights and property ownership.

Going to the polls in May 1938 with an impressive record of progress and purposeful legislation, the Hertzog-Smuts Government was returned with 111 seats (six seats fewer than previously) while the Malan Opposition increased its seats by seven to 27, including that of Waterberg in the Transvaal bushveld, retained by Mr J. G. Strijdom (1893-1958), the only Nationalist member returned from the Transvaal.

In the second half of the year a symbolic trek by ox-wagon from different parts of the country was staged to mark the centenary year of the Voortrekker victory at Blood River in Natal, where, on 16 December 1838, the army of the Zulu despot Dingane had finally been defeated. As the tented wagons which had stopped in almost every town on the way converged on a site on a hill outside Pretoria, which had been reserved for the Voortrekker Monument, a spontaneous wave of patriotism

swept the entire country. The survival of the Afrikaner people in their struggle against British imperialism and against the forces of barbarism formed the theme of many a wayside speech beside the wagons. This upsurge of nationalism brought more political support for Malan, who had since 1933 become the symbol of Afrikaner nationalism; it also resulted in the founding of two non-political movements. The *Reddingsdaadbond* was founded to help Afrikaners to emerge in the sphere of economics, and the *Ossewa-Brandwag* (O.B.) was founded as a purely cultural movement, despite its pseudo-military discipline. (*Ossewa-Brandwag* means 'sentinels of the ox-wagon'.)

The Collapse of Fusion (1938-1939)

Various incidents in 1938 indicated an uneasy dualism that was persistently evident in Hertzog's United Party. There were, for example, the questions of the flying of the Union Jack, the official anthem of the Union (which Hertzog blandly declared to be *Die Stem van Suid-Afrika*) and the Sudeten crisis of September 1938 in Europe which involved the question of South Africa's right of neutrality. When war broke out in Europe on 3 September 1939, Hertzog maintained that the Union should remain neutral, while Smuts maintained that the Union as a British ally should join the war against Adolf Hitler's Germany. Although Malan's party supported Hertzog, the latter lost the vote (67 to 80) after a dramatic debate on 4 September. The Governor-General refused to dissolve Parliament and Smuts, in his seventieth year, returned as Prime Minister after fifteen years and selected a War Cabinet which included representatives of the Labour and the Dominion Parties, both of which had supported him on the war issue. Disillusioned by the sudden collapse of political co-operation with Smuts, Hertzog appeared together with Malan at a mass meeting on the very same Monument Hill outside Pretoria from which he had been so conspicuously absent during the celebrations in December 1938. Both leaders spoke of reunion of all Nationalists. While Smuts was preparing for the Union's part in the war, the reunion between the two Opposition groups was delayed for some months to find a formula which would circumvent Hertzog's objection to the republican principle which, after his departure in 1934, had become part of the National Party programme. A compromise was found and the Reunited National Party (*Herenigde Nasionale Party of Volksparty*) was launched to oppose Smuts's war policy from 1940 onwards.

Smuts goes to War

Despite the sharp political division in the Union on the war issue, the passivity with which the majority of Afrikaners regarded 'Britain's war' against Germany, and despite subsequent organised subversion of the war effort, Smuts and his Government, starting with about 20 000 Whites in

uniform, had by 1945 increased the number in the Union's armed forces to 350 000, including 123 000 Non-Whites in the auxiliary services. The South African forces, which took part in campaigns in four theatres of war, established a brilliant record of service. Brigadier-General Dan Pienaar led the First South African Division to victory in Ethiopia against Mussolini's forces and entered Addis Ababa in May 1941, restoring the Emperor Haile Selassie to the throne.

The Union's industrial state concerns, under the direction of Dr Hendrik van der Bijl, chief of Iscor and Union Director-General of War Supplies, made a tremendous effort to produce war materials and civilian requirements in support of General Smuts's policy during the war.

By the end of 1941 two South African divisions were fighting as part of the British Eighth Army along the North African coast west of the Nile delta against the Italians who by that time had been joined by General Erwin Rommel and the German *Afrika Korps*. In a series of battles in the Western Desert (1941-42) the South African forces distinguished themselves. Then disaster struck the Second South African Division: it was cut off in Tobruk during the Eighth Army's retreat before Rommel and forced to surrender on 26 June 1942. More than 10 000 South Africans were taken to Italy and eventually to eastern Germany, where they remained prisoners of war for three years; their comrades in the First Division took part in the initial defeat of Rommel at El Alamein and in the drive to Tunisia, brilliantly commanded by General Dan Pienaar until his death in a plane crash in December 1942.

Following the campaign in Libya and action in Madagascar to counter the Japanese threat by sea in 1942, the Sixth South African Division entered the war in Italy in April 1943, as part of the Eighth Army and of the U.S. Fifth Army. It remained there until the end of the war. The Union of South Africa lost some 3 000 men during the war, and wherever South Africans served they established a proud record for their country.

General Smuts, who was made a British Field-Marshal during the war, was Churchill's valued counsellor on Allied strategy - as he had been to Lloyd George during the First World War. On the home front the Union witnessed tremendous industrial activity during the war years. Iscor, the South African Railways, the mines, and even the South African Mint, all switched to the production of military requirements. Civilian goods were also produced when overseas sources of supply were interrupted. The Government actively encouraged industrial enterprise to ensure war-time self-sufficiency. This resulted, for example, in the establishing of the Industrial Development Corporation in 1940 which had to plan, stimulate and finance industrial development; followed by the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (C.S.I.R.) in 1945, destined in the post-war years to guide and lead South African scientific achievement in many fields.

There was little change in the South African economy during the first few years after 1939, but from 1942 onwards price levels rose because of the shortage of commodities, especially of foodstuffs. This rise was counteracted by price control, a measure which, with adaptations, was applied for the following three decades.

On the whole, however, the Union enjoyed economic prosperity and an excellent market for its wool, gold and diamonds; and individual incomes rose, especially in the lower income brackets. The upward trend was to continue for many years in all sectors of the national economy.

Afrikaners Divided

Internal politics during the war were characterised by intensity. Feelings were extreme, and the war issue came to be a dividing factor of great moment. Treading warily to avoid a repetition of armed Afrikaner rebellion, as in 1914, Smuts deftly confiscated all privately licensed fire-arms in 1939, soon after the outbreak of war. It was a wise measure, but it did not prevent the marshalling of anti-war opinion for the Parliamentary session of 1940, when Hertzog, at the head of a 'reunited' National Party in opposition, led the attack on Smuts and his war policy. It was to be Hertzog's last session, because his position in the new party was undermined by republican-minded Nationalist leaders in his own party who had never really accepted him. In December 1940 Hertzog, disillusioned and embittered, retired from politics. He died in November 1942, while his old rival Smuts was still actively directing South Africa's war effort.

Havenga, Hertzog's trusted lieutenant, also retired from politics but only temporarily as it turned out; and the short-lived Afrikaner 'reunion' of September 1939 collapsed because Hertzog's supporters had formed their own Afrikaner Party which attracted only a few of those who had left the United Party. Some made their peace with Malan, others chose to side with Smuts, and yet others became supporters of the *Ossewa-Brandwag* which, during 1941, shed its purely cultural role to enter what Malan considered to be the political field.

By 1941 it was clear that the majority of Afrikaners were united against the war effort and wanted a republic. And, on account of an historical bias, they were not averse to the idea of Britain, their enemy of 1806 and 1902, being conquered by Germany; but they were not united in regard to the attitude they would adopt should Germany win the war. This failure to adopt some form of unanimity weakened the opposition to Smuts, both inside and outside of Parliament. Against a divided opposition, aided by the more or less solid vote of the soldiers on active service, Smuts won an easy victory in the general election of 1943. But Malan, although deprived of much of his support on account of his quarrel with the O.B., which boycotted the polls, nevertheless managed to increase his number of seats to 43; the Afrikaner Party was eliminated, together with what was known as the New Order, a national-socialist group outside the O.B. founded by the former United Party Minister and Hertzogite, Advocate Oswald Pirow.

With 105 votes to support him in Parliament, and having interned many Afrikaners, mostly members of the O.B. who were considered to have illegally opposed the war effort, Smuts remained triumphant during the war and had



MHAS/SADF
Major-General Dan Pienaar, one of the most successful and popular commanding officers of South African Forces in Ethiopia and in the Western Desert during the Second World War.

three post-war years to look forward to before the next election was due in 1948.

Progress after the War

Unlike the material and economic havoc caused by the war in the European countries which were directly involved, South Africa emerged unscathed. South Africa was, in fact, about to enter an era of economic and industrial development which even today has shown no signs of abating. During the trade boom immediately after the war there was a tremendous demand for commodities that had been unprocurable during the war. The widespread industrial growth, which had begun during the war when the Union was forced to become self-sufficient, was accompanied by a record production of gold and diamonds, revolutionised farming techniques and by a steady increase in the export of industrial metals, such as manganese, chrome and asbestos, the latter to last for the following two decades. South Africa probably possesses the largest chrome deposits in the world (to name but one example from a range of base mineral resources); one-tenth of the world's supply of asbestos; and vast deposits of copper,



Aerial view of the complex of laboratories and administrative buildings of the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (C.S.I.R.) at Scientia in the eastern part of Pretoria.

platinum, vermiculite, coal, manganese and high-grade iron ore. It was therefore clear, even in those years, that the country was only scratching the surface of its store of wealth. By the middle of the century virtually half of the combined mineral output of the African continent came from South Africa.

Since 1886 the mines had made South Africa the prime producer of gold in the Western world; then an incredible thing happened. In 1946 the first of three new goldfields was opened in the north-western Orange Free State, and obscure places such as Welkom, Odendaalsrus and Virginia came to rival the established Witwatersrand. These places became the centre of a new urban complex where, by the seventies, thirty deep-level mines had been sunk.

But the most spectacular new chapter in the history of South African minerals is on uranium. The makers of the first atomic bomb were secretly informed by Smuts as early as 1941 of the existence of uranium in South Africa. Uranium, which is found together with gold in South Africa, was soon exported to France, Britain and the U.S.A., to the value of about one-eighth of the total gold export. South Africa was destined to become one of the major producers of uranium in the free world, earning in the first quarter-century of production R1 000 000 000, before doubling the value of uranium, and astounding the

scientific world, by discovering in July 1970 a cheap process of enriching it, both for export and for the generating of electricity in South Africa.

The Industrial Development Corporation has, since the war years, been financing new industries and encouraging new avenues of growth - for example in the wool and textile industry, in the manufacture of rayon pulp, in the production of balanced feeds and in research on synthetic rubber. Its programme has been associated with the work of the Board of Trade and Industries, which came into being in 1925. The latter operates as an effective instrument for applying the official policy of granting tariff protection and import rebates, designed to encourage balanced industrial development and to avoid the misdirection of resources. In 1946 the Fisheries Development Corporation was founded, with Government aid, to assist in developing a coastal fishing industry whose growth during the following two decades was to exceed all expectations, gathering a harvest from the sea, particularly on the West Coast between Cape Town and Walvis Bay, such as previous generations had never dreamt of.

The railway systems of the Union and of South West Africa (linked in 1915 at Upington) have almost doubled since 1910, and now total 21 000 kilometres of permanent way in addition to 48 000 route kilometres of road trans-



Aerial view of the Western Deep Levels gold mine on the Far West Rand, one of the deepest mines in the world. It began production in 1962 after having been under investigation and development since 1943.

port to feed and supplement it. In April 1944 the Department of the South African Railways and Harbours became part of the new Ministry of Transport. By the end of 1945 South African Airways resumed its domestic services, started operating a fleet of its own aircraft, made its first flights to London, brought the first Skymaster plane into use in May 1946 and organised regular flying-boat services to Southampton. It was to be some time, however, before the overseas services would be in full swing, and jet planes would make their appearance on domestic routes.

Smuts's troubles after 1945 were of a political nature. Supported by extraordinarily capable men such as Jan H. Hofmeyr in his Cabinet, Smuts had confidently handled the affairs of the Union throughout the war. He had won for himself an international reputation on account of his excellent advice during troublesome times and was in San Francisco in April 1945 to help found the United Nations Organization; he played a prominent role in the drafting of the preamble to its Charter, even before Japan had been eliminated from the war by atomic bomb attacks. But when he appeared at Lake Success the following year to address the United Nations session on the future of South West Africa, he was bitterly disappointed and disillusioned by the new mood that prevailed in the body he had helped to establish.

By 1946 priorities in Union politics had switched from the affairs of the two White language groups to the necessity for legal adjustment of the relationship between the White and Non-White elements of the population. Starting with the Indians, Smuts failed badly with his 'Pegging Act', the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act of 1946, which sought to provide for Indian franchise and representation while, at the same time, restricting the rights of Indians to own and occupy property in certain areas.

It was Smuts's last skirmish with the Indians in a series of encounters dating from 1907, but it had consequences which persist to this day. Seizing upon the restrictions placed on Indians in South Africa, the Government of India not only took up their cause, as it had done in the past, but decided to use the new U.N. rostrum to oppose the South African proposal to incorporate South West Africa, and to place South Africa on trial before world opinion on account of her policy towards the Non-White population.

Having counteracted as best he could the non-co-operation of South African Indians and of Bantu workers, who were being guided by Communist instigators, Smuts faced the U.N. Assembly in October 1946 with what was, by any standard, a very strong case for having South West Africa

internationally recognised as part of the Union of South Africa. Smuts considered the Union's application a mere formality, a recognition of a unity which had existed and developed since 1915

But India saw to it that Smuts, much to his chagrin, was not only thwarted over the South West Africa issue, but that the ground was prepared at the U.N. for an annual assault, which has persisted from 1946 to the present day, on South Africa's administration of South West Africa. Moreover, South Africa has been publicly subjected to pressures designed to compel her to abandon her traditional policy of White leadership; to give up her policy of gradual political emancipation for Non-White peoples; and to substitute, for this safe evolutionary policy, the revolutionary and perilous policy of hastily setting up a political system based on the concept of equal rights (and, consequently, of equal responsibilities) for all groups, however advanced, however backward, however capable or incapable of handling affairs on which the prosperity and the survival of all concerned depend.

In Smuts's time *apartheid* had already become a household word, wielded like a weapon by South Africa's opponents in New York. It soon became clear that in the post-war era of decolonisation, which witnessed the rise of Black independence movements in Africa and a growing solidarity among the Non-White nations of the world, South Africa would be confronted with a calculated bid to use the U.N. as a platform from which to launch attacks on South Africa's internal policy, although this was contrary to the spirit of the U.N. charter.

The following decades proved, on the one hand, that this assault from outside was to grow in intensity as dozens of emergent states, especially in Africa, joined the ranks of the U.N., and on the other hand, that this assault served inevitably to minimise internal political party divisions in South Africa. This was the very opposite of what critics abroad were hoping to achieve.

Smuts: the End of the Road

During 1947 there were signs that Smuts's Government was losing support for reasons other than the usual grievances caused by post-war adjustments. Chief among these was the embarrassment to the United Party of a left wing in its midst, headed by Jan H. Hofmeyr, the man who was expected to succeed Smuts but who did not hesitate to speak his mind on race relations, as he had done since 1936 while serving in Hertzog's Cabinet. Hofmeyr, a forceful speaker and a man whose views on colour problems had been succinctly stated in public, was losing votes for his party, and was becoming the political target of a very lively Opposition that was, at the time, formulating by means of two party commissions an impressive blueprint of its policy.

The pivot of this policy was a formula for political and social 'separateness' or *apartheid* for the White, Coloured, Indian and Bantu population groups, to ensure the maintenance, protection and consolidation of the White race



Dr Daniel Francois Malan (1874-1959), leader of the National Party from 1933-1954, and Prime Minister of South Africa from 1948-1954.

as the bearer of Christian civilisation in South Africa, and to enable it to fulfil its function of responsible trusteeship to guide the other groups towards eventual freedom in a peaceful manner.

While Dr D. F. Malan's party, still labouring under the cumbersome title of *Herenigde Nasionale Party of Volksparty* (H.N.P.) which it had assumed in 1940 for the sake of 'reunion' with Hertzog, was preparing its manifesto for the general election in 1948, Dr Malan and Mr Havenga scored a decisive success.

Between the H.N.P. and Havenga's Afrikaner Party there were no vital differences of principle. The parties had, in fact, remained separate since 1940 only because of the rancour among Hertzog's loyal friends and followers over the manner of his exit from public life. In March 1947 Malan and Havenga came together to form an election agreement. In this way Malan was able to achieve what had been his aim since 1915, 'to bring together those who belonged together', and with the help of Havenga he consolidated more potential Afrikaner voting power than ever before to oppose the Smuts-Hofmeyr Government.

On 20 April 1948, the eve of the general election, Malan produced his charge sheet against the Government in his speech at Paarl. He accused the Government of indifference towards and ineffectiveness in dealing with the colour

problem; of overtaxation; of neglect of overseas trade, and of weakness in handling Communism, the most dangerous of South Africa's enemies. Malan, in the same election manifesto, presented the main features of his party's programme of action, with particular emphasis on the social and political aspects of 'separateness' in the development of the Non-Whites, as opposed to the Smuts-Hofmeyr tendency towards racial integration; the Communist Party, he promised, would be declared illegal in South Africa.

On 26 May 1948 Smuts's Government fell, contrary to all expectations. Two Cabinet Ministers, including Smuts himself, lost their seats. Smuts, the last of the Boer generals who had been in power since 1910, departed disappointed and disillusioned; he had held positions of authority in South African Governments (with only two interruptions) since 1898. He was to sit in Parliament for two more sessions before he died in September 1950, some months after his eightieth birthday. Hofmeyr, who had long been regarded as the obvious successor to Smuts, survived the general election by only a few months. He died suddenly in December 1948.

Despite an unprecedented swing of 25 seats, many of them traditional United Party rural strongholds, it was a narrow victory, sensational though it was; against Malan's 70 seats to which Havenga added 9, the new Opposition could still muster 74, leaving Malan a scant majority of five, which made governing difficult for the first few years. Moreover, an analysis of actual votes showed a considerable majority of votes cast for the Opposition.

Malan Shoulders the Task

Malan chose his Cabinet of ten (all bilingual Afrikaners) from among men who had all previously been associated with the National Party. Two were ex-colleagues in Hertzog Cabinets: N. C. Havenga (1924-1933), who returned to his portfolio of Finance, and E. G. Jansen (1929-1933), who became Minister of Native Affairs (since renamed Bantu Administration and Development). The relatively unostentatious portfolio of Lands was entrusted to Advocate J. G. Strijdom, the outspoken champion of the republican ideal, which had been revived during the war years.

Although somewhat hampered initially by a tenuous majority and a brief phase of economic hesitancy, the Malan Government, mocked as it was for some time by the English press as a 'minority Government', boldly commenced its legislative programme in 1949 and introduced measures, within the framework of its policy, to ensure the separateness of race groups, the advancement of industry and material progress, and to deal with residual matters related to the Union's status in the Commonwealth.

In 1949 a measure was adopted to admit six members from South West Africa to the Union House of Assembly, and four to the Senate. These members took their seats in 1950, all having been elected in the interests of the H.N.P. In 1951 the Government's position was further strengthened when the two governing parties united and, with the support of Havenga, reassumed the old name of National

Party which had been in use before the fusion of 1934. This party has remained in office ever since, increasing its parliamentary strength substantially in successive elections in 1953, 1958, 1961 and 1966, and losing some seats for the first time in 1970. The United Party Opposition, whose numbers in Parliament dwindled sharply until 1966, was led after Smuts's death by Advocate J. G. N. Strauss, a former Smuts Cabinet Member, who was succeeded in 1956 by Sir de Villiers Graaff, son of a member of the first Union Cabinet.

In 1948 there were still, as far as the constitution was concerned, a few remnants of the former imperial relationship, despite Hertzog's legislation of 1934-37; Afrikaner national sentiment demanded that these be eliminated in accordance with the process of constitutional evolution. Hertzog's acceptance of independence within the Commonwealth was no longer enough. In 1949 the term 'British subject' for Union nationals was abolished. By the Citizenship Act, South African citizenship was instituted by law. In 1950 the right of appeal from the Appeal Court of the Union to the Judicial Commission of the British Privy Council was terminated because it was not consonant with the sovereign, independent status of the Union. Attending the Commonwealth Conference in London in 1949, Malan supported the decision to allow India to become a republic while remaining a member of the Commonwealth, a significant indication of future constitutional change under the rule of a party that had been committed since 1941 to the ideal of a republic for South Africa. In 1951 Dr E. G. Jansen was appointed Governor-General, the first Republican National Party member to assume this high office. His post of Minister of Native Affairs was filled by the man who was to create the South African Republic a decade later - Dr Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd (1901-1966), professor of psychology and sociology at Stellenbosch, newspaper editor and Union senator.

The old and vexed question of the 'divisibility' of the Crown was finally settled in 1953 when the Royal Style and Titles Act distinguished between the monarch of Britain and the monarch of South Africa. In 1955 an agreement with Britain on the naval base of Simonstown was signed. This was confirmed in 1957 when the base was taken over by the South African Navy, a move which removed the last symbol of British territorial presence from the Union of South Africa. In the same year *Die Stem van Suid-Afrika* (The Call of South Africa) was officially declared to be the only national anthem; the British anthem was no longer played on ceremonial occasions. Likewise, Parliament adopted a private motion that the Union Jack no longer be flown together with the national flag on official occasions.

Communism and Colour Problems

While the Government initiated as much of its legislative programme related to the Bantu and Coloured people as circumstances permitted, it also had to deal with Communism, which had become a real threat to internal stability. Acknowledged White and Non-White Communists had



Above: Dr Malan's first Cabinet in 1948:

Back (l. to r.): B. J. Schoeman, Adv. F. C. Erasmus, Dr T. E. Dönges, Dr A. J. Stals, Adv. E. H. Louw, Adv. S. P. le Roux, official.

Front (l. to r.): Adv. C. R. Swart, Dr E. G. Jansen, Dr D. F. Malan (Prime Minister), G. Brand van Zyl (Governor-General), N. C. Havenga, Adv. J. G. Strijdom and P. O. Sauer.

Left: The first verse of South Africa's national anthem.

The Call of South Africa

Ringing out from our blue heavens,
from our deep seas breaking round;
Over everlasting mountains
where the echoing crags resound;
From our plains where creaking
wagons cut their trails into the earth
Calls the spirit of our Country,
of the land that gave us birth.

At thy call we shall not falter,
firm and steadfast we shall stand,
At thy will to live or perish,
O South Africa, dear land.

been active in Non-White movements since the beginning of the century. In 1950 the Suppression of Communism Act was passed, making the promotion of Communism an offence and excluding Communists from trade unions. But legal prohibition of Communism did not eliminate it as a threat to the country. It was merely driven underground and emerged for example in movements that were launched by the African National Congress (A.N.C.) to strike at the Non-White policy of the Malan Government, and subsequently in efforts to cause riots and start passive resistance movements that were timed to coincide, in April 1952, with the national Van Riebeeck Festival that marked the tercentenary of the founding of the first settlement at the Cape.

Communist-inspired activity was curbed by drastic measures for the sake of law and order: the Criminal Law Amendment Act (1953) followed by the Public Safety Act, which provided for the proclamation of a state of emergency, if and when required. Nevertheless, greater vigilance was required. In 1956 the Russian consulate in Pretoria, which

was known to be causing unrest among Non-Whites, was closed down, and the police arrested a large number of persons on charges of high treason in 1956.

The trial, which ended in March 1961 after the accused had all been acquitted, revealed Communist methods but did not seem to curb Communist activities. An educated Bantu leader, Robert Sobukwe, founded the Pan African Congress (P.A.C.) as a splinter group of the A.N.C. which he and others thought to be too moderate. During 1959 there were riots in various centres, caused by Non-Whites, which led to police intervention. These protest movements, instigated by Communist leaders, continued their demonstrations in 1960, and re-appeared later in different guises.

Planning for the Coloured and Bantu Peoples

From 1949 onwards the Malan Government unhesitatingly introduced legislation to implement the policy of separate advancement of the race groups in South Africa; this was considered to be the only means by which cultural values in a multi-national country could be safeguarded and the only guarantee of racial peace because it provided an opportunity for development to the Non-White peoples. The election of 1948 had been won mainly on the issue of 'separateness', but it soon transpired that, however honestly the National Party tried to implement this policy, it had made a cardinal error in using the Afrikaans word *apartheid* to describe it. The connotations of this word made it susceptible to distortion and it became a vehicle of opprobrium and criticism inside and especially outside South Africa. By the Group Areas Act of 1949, residential segregation was introduced, and the institution of a population register in 1950 provided for race classification for the entire adult population.

All legislation bearing on questions of colour excited serious parliamentary opposition - for example, the prohibition of miscegenation and mixed marriages, 'job reservation' for Whites in semi-skilled labour, and the provision of separate amenities in public places. But it was in 1950, when the Government moved from the social and economic spheres to introduce legislation that affected the political rights of the Coloured people, that a constitutional storm was unleashed. The Separate Representation of Voters Act of 1951, which placed Coloured male voters in the Cape Province on a separate voters' roll (as had been done for the Bantu in 1936 by Hertzog's law) and provided for qualified Coloured voters in the Cape to be represented in Parliament by four White members, was declared invalid by the Court of Appeal because it had not been adopted by the requisite two-thirds majority stipulated by the South Africa Act. In 1951 there were 47 800 qualified Coloured voters in the Cape Province.

After various legislative expedients and complications, and amid considerable political tumult, the issue was settled by law only after Malan, on account of his age, had retired in October 1954 and been succeeded as Prime Minister by Advocate J. G. Strijdom. The Act relating to Colour-

ed voters eventually appeared on the statute book in 1956. In 1969 the representation of Coloured people in Parliament was abolished and the Coloured Advisory Council, which had been in existence since 1943 (but inoperative by its own choice after 1950), was replaced by a partly elected, partly nominated Coloured Persons Representative Council and Executive Council (1969), a body with circumscribed legislative and administrative powers in all four provinces, and concerned in particular with Coloured education, social services and agriculture in rural settlements. At the time of the election on 24 September 1969 there were altogether 637 920 Coloured male and female voters in the Republic.

The Coloured people (about 1 500 000 in 1948) lived mainly in the Cape, whereas the more numerous Bantu peoples were spread over all four provinces, and there were 400 000 Bantu in South West Africa who were also the responsibility of the South African Government. Those in the Union were in the ratio of 3-4 : 1 White person; they belonged to eight main national groups and lived in areas that in the course of the nineteenth century had assumed the shape of a gigantic horseshoe. These areas consisted of 264 blocks of land, totalling 9 million ha that stretched from the Kalahari to the Northern Transvaal and along the south-east coast, where a Cape Nguni group, the Xhosa of the Transkei, inhabited the largest contiguous territorial unit, which stretched to the Natal southern border. Apart from 72 per cent of the Bantu who lived in their homeland areas in much the same way as their forefathers had done centuries before, closely bound to tribal tradition, law and authority, there were some 27 per cent living in and around urban areas where they constituted about 42 per cent of the population, having more than doubled their numbers outside their homelands since the beginning of the century. The urban Bantu were not divorced from the tribal ties of the homelands, though a large percentage of them were not migrant labourers but had their families with them, or had been born outside their homelands.

After 1948 it was the future of this numerically superior but largely undeveloped component of the South African population that constituted the major challenge to a Government committed to a basic policy of social, economic and political separation along the lines which Hertzog had laid down.

The man who determined the pattern of Bantu policy in the fifties was Dr H. F. Verwoerd, who became Minister of Native Affairs in 1950, a portfolio he held until he succeeded Strijdom as Prime Minister in 1958.

Verwoerd was dedicated to the task entrusted to him: he studied the Bantu in their homelands and in the teeming urban residential areas; Bantu history and its demands; Bantu tradition and its peculiarities; the Bantu mind and its workings. Verwoerd's study convinced him that the development of the Bantu should be based not on an extension of political rights in competition with the Whites, but on the traditional authority and order of their own national groups. This concept was embodied in the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951, which provided for the establishing of a hierarchy of authority in the homelands,

of which the broad base would be a large number (up to 500) of Bantu tribal authorities, which in turn would be grouped under regional authorities and subsequently (when they were sufficiently mature), under a territorial authority, as a preliminary to self-government for the Bantu nation concerned.

Furthermore, this indigenous control in Bantu communities was to replace the old system of a Native Representative Council which in 1946 had ceased to co-operate with the Smuts Government. Verwoerd's Bantu Education Act of 1953 took Bantu education out of the hands of churches and missionary societies, supervised by provincial authorities, in order to mould it more closely to the requirements of the Bantu, giving parents more authority in regard to the education of their children. This was followed by the Resettlement of Natives Act of 1954, which enabled Dr Verwoerd to eliminate the misery of Johannesburg's unsightly squatter camps, and to re-settle in due course half a million urban Bantu in model residential towns.

It was during Verwoerd's term as Minister that the commission under Professor F. R. Tomlinson produced a massive 17-volume report and socio-economic survey of the South African Bantu in their homelands, including all the land bought for them since 1936. This enormous blueprint, which divided all Bantu land into 32 ecological districts, and which contained recommendations for the future development of the Bantu homelands, was used by Dr Verwoerd even after he had assumed the premiership on the death of Strijdom.

As Premier he continued to attach great importance to the realisation of Bantu self-government, stressing the constructive aspects of the policy of separate independence for the Non-White peoples.

The Transkei was the first homeland to qualify as a territorial authority and after the Promotion of Self-Government Act of 1959, it prepared for the next step towards complete internal self-government, which was to follow in 1963.

Mineral Wealth

The decade of Malan and Strijdom was a period of economic expansion and advance, despite the shadows cast by the issue of race policy. The flight of foreign capital in 1948, which showed a totally unwarranted lack of confidence in the new Government, was soon curbed by the introduction of import control and by the devaluation of the South African pound in 1949. The rich Orange Free State goldfields began to produce in 1951, to add to the output of the Witwatersrand, and new mines in the West Rand area were attracting capital to gold-mining and to the production of uranium, which started there in 1952.

The mineral and industrial potential of the country was further exploited when two important enterprises were established by the Industrial Development Corporation. By means of the Liquid Fuel and Oil Act of 1947 the Government financed the South African Coal, Oil and Gas Corporation (Sasol) which was set up, complete with the new town of Sasolburg near the Vaal River. In 1955 this,



Mr Johannes Gerhardus Strijdom (1893-1958), leader of the National Party and Prime Minister of South Africa from 1954-1958.

the second-largest plant of its kind in the world, began to produce oil and petro-chemical products from South African coal. By 1960 Sasol, erected at tremendous cost, showed its first profit; South Africa was partially overcoming its lack of natural oil by using its vast coal reserves to make all the products usually derived from crude oil, and turning cheap coal into products eighteen times more valuable.

In 1951 a second enterprise was established: the Phosphate Development Corporation (Pty.) Limited (Foskor), which was to exploit the reserves of rock phosphates uncovered at Phalaborwa in the Eastern Transvaal lowveld. Production commenced in 1955, for the benefit of the agricultural industry and, subsequently, revealed yet greater mineral reserves on the same site.

The Year 1960

Sustained by economic growth and guided by the steady hand of Verwoerd, South Africa entered 1960, the fiftieth year since Union and as it turned out the last within the Commonwealth of Nations. In January 1960 Verwoerd unexpectedly raised the republican issue. The decision to do so was entirely his own, and time proved that he had



The Strijdom Cabinet, 1954:

Front (l. to r.): Dr T. E. Dönges, P. O. Sauer, Adv. J. G. Strijdom (Prime Minister), Dr E. G. Jansen (Governor-General), Adv. C. R. Swart, Adv. S. P. le Roux, Adv. E. H. Louw and Adv. F. C. Erasmus.

Back (l. to r.): J. J. Serfontein, Dr A. J. R. van Rhijn, J. F. Naude, B. J. Schoeman, Dr H. F. Verwoerd, J. Viljoen and Sen. J. de Klerk.

gauged popular sentiment accurately when he announced that a referendum would be held later in 1960 to decide by simple majority whether South Africa should get a republican form of government, without material changes to the existing constitution. Immediately after the Prime Minister's announcement, the British Conservative Premier, Mr Harold Macmillan, at the conclusion of an official visit delivered an address on 3 February 1960 in Cape Town to members of the South African Parliament.

Referring to national consciousness in Black Africa, which British policy would have to take into account, Mr Macmillan used a phrase that has since become famous. He said that 'the wind of change' was blowing through the Continent . . . Verwoerd in a memorable impromptu reply to Macmillan emphasised the danger of pursuing policies in emergent Africa that might undermine the stability Western civilisation had brought. Pledging South Africa's support to the free world, he pleaded for justice not only for the Black men of Africa but also for the White men of Africa. 'We also see ourselves as a part of the Western world, a true White state in Africa, notwithstanding the possibility of granting a full future to the Black men in our midst. We look upon ourselves as indispensable to the White world', Verwoerd said, and then referred to the necessity of friendship between White nations and the

Black States of Africa. 'We are the link. We are White, but we are in Africa. We have links with both and that lays upon us a special duty and we realise it'.

Events in Africa in the late 1950's immediately affected South Africa. The sporadic riots of 1959, incited by the Communist-linked Pan-African Congress, took the form during the early months of 1960 of a campaign of resistance to the enforced carrying by Bantu of reference books. These books were a means of identification and were introduced to enable the authorities to control the movement of Bantu inside and into urban areas, and also from countries beyond the Union's borders. The reference books, in which employers record the duration of employment and wages paid to workers in various jobs, also protected Bantu workers against any form of exploitation or possible victimisation.

Nevertheless the Bantu were encouraged by the P.A.C. to go to the nearest police station and invite arrest for failing to carry a reference book. On 21 March 1960 a large crowd of militant Bantu advanced on a police station in the township of Sharpeville, near Vereeniging. Fearing for their lives, a few young policemen at the besieged station fired into the crowd before a command was given, as was ascertained at the subsequent judicial enquiry. They killed 69 Bantu, and wounded more before the crowd dispersed.



The Bunga Building in Umtata in which the Transkeian Legislative Assembly has held its sessions since 1963. Prior to that it was used for meetings of the Transkeian General Council (1931-1955) and its successor, the Transkeian Territorial Authority (1956-1963).

At Langa, a Bantu township near Cape Town, lives were lost in a riot on the same day, and soon afterwards 30 000 Bantu from this township and others nearby, marched towards Cape Town in broad daylight in a procession that reached the centre of the city before it was turned back, fortunately without violence. The so-called 'massacre' of Sharpeville created a furore of condemnation in the outside world against the South African Government; no reasonable explanation could prevail, and this served the cause of all who, like the P.A.C., sought to overthrow the State. Both the A.N.C. and the P.A.C. were immediately banned as unlawful organisations, and a state of emergency was declared while the threat to the State continued. Thereby the Government warded off a dangerous blow, for the march on Sharpeville police station had been but a small part of a larger scheme to invite mass arrest, to flood the prisons and to cripple industry by means of strikes. While South Africa was still contending with the threat to her internal security, and world opinion was condemning the Sharpeville incident, another blow fell. On 9 April 1960 an attempt was made in Johannesburg by a mentally unbalanced White person to assassinate Dr Verwoerd. Wounded by two bullets in his face, he spent some weeks in hospital but recovered completely, in time to appear in public on 31 May to deliver the main speech at the

Bloemfontein celebrations to mark a half-century of Union, an occasion on which he outlined his intentions in regard to the pending referendum on the republican issue.

South Africa becomes a Republic

On 5 October 1960 the referendum revealed that 52 per cent of the voters were in favour of a republic and 48 per cent against it. The majority was only 74 580 votes out of a total of 1 626 336, but it was a long awaited mandate, a dream of many generations, especially among Afrikaners, that had come true at last. The advent of a republic was the conclusion of an historical process, the end of a constitutional road that went back past the British occupation of South Africa to the days of Dutch rule.

Eager to put to the test his belief that true harmony among the White population groups would come about only when South Africa was a republic, Verwoerd departed for the Commonwealth Conference in London in March 1961 to present South Africa's formal application for continued membership of the Commonwealth as a republic.

But the South African application proved to be no mere formality. The opportunity was seized upon by the Non-

A view of Durban Harbour, South Africa's largest port and one of the busiest in the Southern Hemisphere, especially since the closure of the Suez Canal in 1967.



Part of the extensive plant at Sasolburg in the Orange Free State of the Government-sponsored South African Coal, Oil and Gas Corporation (Sasol). It was established in 1954 to convert low-grade coal into oil, gas and chemical by-products.





The open pit of the Phalaborwa copper mine in the Transvaal, near the Kruger National Park. Phalaborwa is also the site of the main plant of the Phosphate Development Corporation (Foskor) which has operated there since 1955.

White members of the Commonwealth, aided by the Prime Minister of Canada, to criticise South Africa's internal policy and to place so many obstacles in Verwoerd's way that he withdrew South Africa's application for membership. He returned home to establish a republic outside the Commonwealth. This had not been his original intention, but it clearly pleased the republican majority in South Africa.

The establishing of the Republic of South Africa on 31 May 1961 brought no visible change, constitutionally or otherwise. The Republican constitution was still essentially the South Africa Act of 1910, as amended during the period of Union, except that a State President replaced the Governor-General. There was no attempt to have a president with executive powers, according to the United States pattern and that of the Boer Republics before 1902.

In the economic sphere there had been a mass flight of capital immediately after Sharpeville, aggravated by uncertainty in international financial circles over the political unrest in the Congo and elsewhere in Africa. When South Africa left the Commonwealth in 1961 there was a further flight of capital, prompted by a lack of confidence similar

to that evinced after Malan came to power in 1948. But this was only a temporary state of affairs. Bolstered by exchange and import controls the South African economy stabilised itself once again and maintained a growth-rate during the sixties that surpassed that of most other countries in the world. Trade with Britain, as had been predicted, actually increased immediately after May 1961.

The adoption of a decimal system of coinage in February 1961, shortly before South Africa became a republic, was the result of research by a Government commission that was begun in 1944 and had not been calculated to coincide with the coming of a republic.

Despite spreading political hostility towards South Africa in the world at large, the new Republic's economy was forging ahead at a remarkable pace. For example, some 90 per cent of current investment capital required for the continued expansion of trade and industry was soon to be generated. By 1964 diamond exports had doubled, and at the end of the decade the sales figure had reached an average of about R75 000 000 annually. The production of gold was increased to 72 per cent of the free world's supply. The fixed price of gold, which had not been increased since



Dr Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd (1901-1966), leader of the National Party and Prime Minister from 1958-1966.

world at large. Verwoerd then inaugurated a new phase of the Bantu policy to demonstrate *separate development* as a practical proposition. In January 1962 he announced that the request for self-government made by the Transkei Territorial Authority - in May 1961 - would be granted. In this way the largest single Bantu population block became an example to other units that were also moving towards self-government in their homelands. The Transkei had achieved the status of a territorial authority in 1956 and others such as the Xhosa of the Ciskei, Tswana, South Sotho, Northern Sotho, Venda, Tsonga-Shangaan and the Zulu (1970) were to follow this example during the following decade. Meanwhile the Transkei held its first democratic elections in 1963 to elect 45 members of a 109-member Bantu legislative body from which an executive, under the leadership of a Chief Minister, was formed.

Self-government in the Transkei was a bold experiment; it was supported by legislation passed by the Republican Parliament to provide generous financial aid to the Transkei budget, to encourage the use of scientific methods in agriculture and to stimulate economic development. One feature of the programme for economic development was the moving of industries closer to the borders of Bantu homelands; these 'border industries' were becoming more and more significant by 1970 in that they made the policy of Bantu national autonomy and self-rule a feasible proposition. By 1964 the socio-economic planning, which is the basis of the entire concept of Bantu homelands, was extended to include South West Africa. The Odendaal Commission (modelled on the Tomlinson Commission of the previous decade) produced a report on the territory which is still being implemented to the benefit of the Owambo and of the other Non-White population groups.

The Struggle for South West Africa

The vendetta which India had started against Smuts over the status of South West Africa in 1946 entered a new phase after 1960 when two African States, Ethiopia and Liberia, instituted proceedings against South Africa in the International Court of Justice at The Hague. Their case against South Africa rested on a number of allegations, including that the mandate of 1920 was still operative, that the United Nations had inherited the supervisory functions of the defunct League of Nations in regard to the mandate, and that South Africa had failed to promote to the utmost the material and moral well-being and social progress of the inhabitants of South West Africa as stipulated by the mandate.

South Africa, on the other hand, contended that the mandate for South West Africa had lapsed upon the dissolution of the League of Nations in 1946, that her obligations *vis-à-vis* the Council of the League of Nations had not been replaced by any similar obligations to a United Nations organ, and that in any event she had not violated her substantive obligations under the mandate in any of the respects alleged by the Applicant States.

1934, restricted the development of low-grade mines and South Africa reacted by preparing a scheme, which was formulated by 1970, for an economic pattern that would in future be independent of gold.

The fishing industry, almost non-existent in the forties, became the largest producer of fish products in the Southern Hemisphere, and South Africa became the eighth-largest fishing nation in the world, an achievement that reflected only one aspect of the dramatic change that occurred in South Africa after 1948. South Africans, more specifically the Afrikaners, were overcoming their almost traditional indifference to the sea; a South African merchant marine was taking shape, and by 1970 freighters were sailing as far as Japan and Canada under the South African flag; and a watchful, if limited, South African Navy had been manned since the early fifties by men whose ancestors had deserted the sea to carry their civilisation inland to the banks of the Limpopo and beyond.

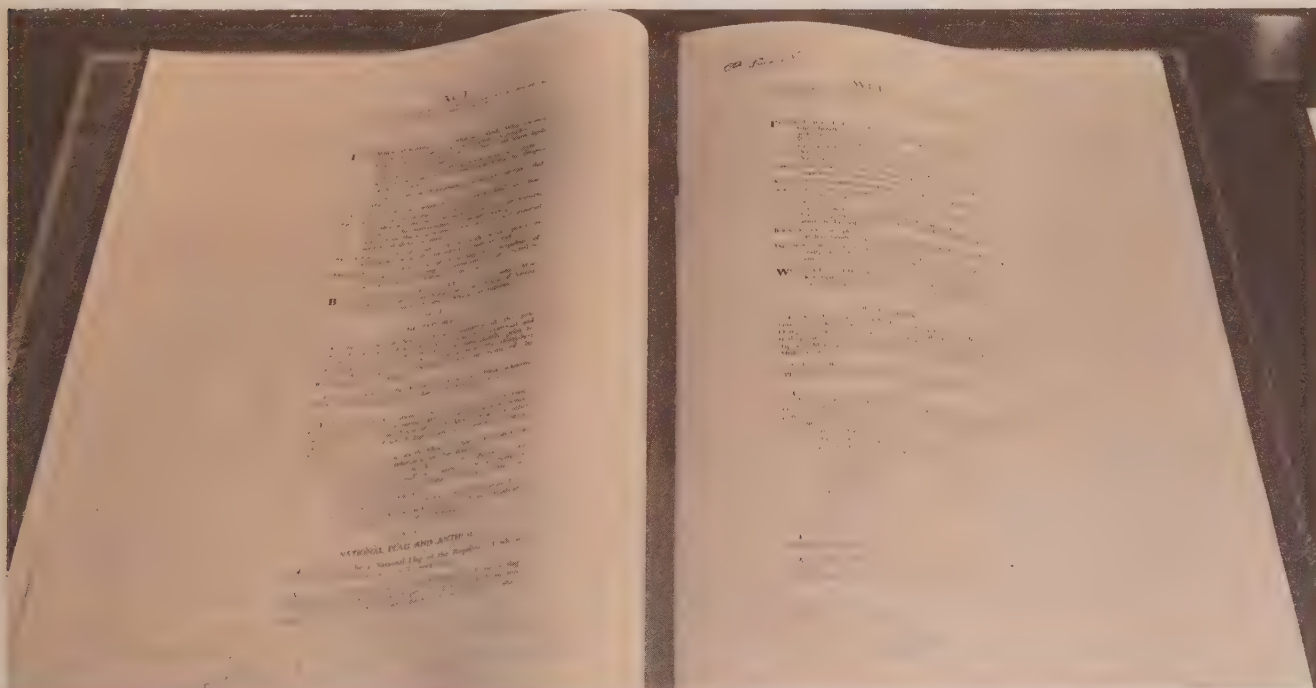
Self-Rule for the Transkei

From 1960 onwards it was the position of the Bantu in South Africa that gave rise to venomous attacks by the



The Verwoerd Cabinet, 1958:
 Front (l. to r.): Dr T. E. Dönges, P. O. Sauer, Dr H. F. Verwoerd (Prime Minister), Dr E. G. Jansen (Governor-General), Adv. C. R. Swart, Adv. E. H. Louw.
 Back (l. to r.): J. J. Serfontein, M. D. C. de Wet Nel, Dr A. J. R. van Rhijn, Sen. J. de Klerk, B. J. Schoeman, P. M. K. le Roux, Adv. F. C. Erasmus and J. F. Naude.

The first page of the Act (No. 32 of 1961) constituting the Republic of South Africa.



The preliminary stages of the case, to test the court's jurisdiction, lasted until 1962. In 1963 South Africa began to prepare her case to counter the charges of the two applicants who were, in fact, acting as the representatives of the Organisation of African Unity (O.A.U.). The South African case to counter the frontal attack on race policies both in the Republic and in South West Africa was presented from March 1965 onwards and carried the day at The Hague. By the casting vote of its President the Court found that the Applicant States could not be considered "to have established any legal right or interest appertaining to them in the subject-matter of their claims." The Court accordingly declined to give effect to their claims.

But this did not prevent the General Assembly of the United Nations from adopting a resolution supported by a large majority, on 27 October 1966, purporting to terminate "South Africa's mandate over South West Africa." All attempts by the U.N. to implement this resolution have failed completely, and South Africa has remained in control of the territory, having rejected the U.N. resolution outright as an unconstitutional act and contrary to international law.

The Future

Temporarily forced on to the defensive by the violent clamour against her internal policy, South Africa nevertheless put her case ably in the international forum for the benefit of all who cared to listen to reasonable argument, and at the same time continued to implement projects that would secure a future for all her peoples. Shortly after the announcement of Transkeian self-rule in 1962 came the decision to launch the Orange River Project, which is the most ambitious water control project in the history of the country and one that will take thirty years to complete.

This gigantic engineering feat is centred on the 2 092 km course of the Orange River and was planned at a cost of R900 000 000 for dams and tunnels, one of which is 82 km long, to divert and control the waters of the river, to revitalise agriculture and industry, and to generate hydro-electric power. By the end of 1970 important progress had been made. The project was proceeding according to schedule and the first impounded water from the main dam site had been released to relieve conditions of drought.

While conditions were being improved to sustain a larger population, a marked acceleration took place after 1960 in the rate of immigration from Great Britain and the Continent of Europe. The Department of Planning was instituted in 1964 to co-ordinate and conserve economic resources and to guide material development. In 1965 the new Department was already involved in the spectacular bid to find natural oil, both on land at a number of places in the southern and eastern parts of the Cape Province, and at sea on the continental shelf off the south-eastern and southern coast. The rate of industrial growth in the sixties surpassed even that of the prosperous fifties and continued to rise sharply, despite a slight slowing down of the national



Mr C. R. Swart, first State President of the Republic of South Africa, 1961-1967.

economy after May 1969, which was the result of a period of over-speculation.

During the years after Sharpeville, various underground attempts were made by communistic and other banned organisations to undermine orderly government in South Africa by inciting Bantu labourers in urban areas, and even in rural towns, where secret membership of the 'Poqo' movement flourished for some time. The sensational uncovering of the nerve-centre of subversive movements at a farm in Rivonia, near Johannesburg, was followed by the arrest and trial of the White and Non-White leaders, in 1964 and in 1965, and the elimination of individual leftist student participation in illegal activities.

Overt signs of subversive movements disappeared for a while. But by 1967 the threat of terrorist activity on the borders of Angola, Mozambique and Rhodesia created a need for renewed vigilance on the part of the South African Police. Since a threat to her neighbours' security is also a threat to South Africa herself, South African police have been fighting alongside the Rhodesian security forces on the Zambezi since September 1967.

Partly because of the influence of Dr Verwoerd as the successful leader of a successful Government, and partly because of greater support by the English-speaking section of the community, stimulated by such factors as the British



Nickel and bronze coins circulating in the Republic.

Labour Government's policy towards people of British descent in Rhodesia after the declaration of Rhodesian independence in November 1965, the National Party won its greatest victory at the polls in the general election of March 1966, gaining 126 seats out of a total of 170. Shortly afterwards there was the news of the outcome of the South West Africa case, which temporarily relieved the United Nations pressure on South Africa. Early in September 1966 Verwoerd met the Prime Minister of the newly independent Lesotho in Pretoria and confirmed South Africa's intention of good neighbourly relations and material aid to the former British High Commission Territories.

After Verwoerd

On 6 September 1966 South Africa was stunned by the assassination of the Prime Minister, stabbed to death in his seat in Parliament by a temporary messenger of foreign descent who was subsequently found to be mentally unfit to stand trial and was committed to an institution. The death of Dr Verwoerd removed from the scene the man who, probably more than any other, had fashioned South

African internal policies during the previous sixteen years. He was succeeded by the Minister of Justice in his Cabinet, Advocate B. J. Vorster, who on taking office on 13 September 1966 declared that there would be no change in the main lines of policy.

The first years of the Vorster Government proved that, whatever political or international problems might arise, there were two reassuring factors: firstly, the remarkable stability of an elected Government which was entering its twenty-third year in office, probably an all-time record in the democratic world; and, secondly, the increasing economic prosperity and expansion in an atmosphere of stability devoid of labour unrest which provided a sound basis for solving the social, political and strategic problems confronting South Africa.

By 1970 South Africa could justly claim that the phenomenal advance after the Second World War, and what amounted subsequently to a commercial and industrial revolution, had made the Republic the leading industrial country on the African continent and the second-largest industrial country in the Southern Hemisphere.

As the most advanced country in Africa, the Republic owned, for example, more than 50 per cent of all motor vehicles on the continent, generated 60 per cent of all the electricity in Africa, or as much power per capita as



Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, Chief Minister of the Transkei since December 1963, when he was elected by the majority of members of the first Legislative Assembly. He was re-elected by an increased majority in October 1968.

The Government Notice convoking the second session of the Transkeian Legislative Assembly at Umtata on 5 May 1964. This was the first notice published in the first issue of the Transkei Official Gazette.

Western Europe. Containing only 6 per cent of the population of Africa, the Republic by 1970 was responsible for more than 20 per cent of the whole of Africa's total production, 30 per cent of its exports and 25 per cent of its imports. Because South Africa developed its natural resources, the standard of living of all its inhabitants was far higher than that of any other country on the African continent and compared favourably with standards of living elsewhere in the world.

TRANSKEIAN GOVERNMENT REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA				TRANSKEISE REGERING REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA	
<i>James P. N. D. D. D.</i> MINISTER OF EDUCATION				<i>James P. N. D. D. D.</i> MINISTER OF ROADS AND WORKS	
URULUMENTE WASE TRANSKEI IRIPHABLIKI YOMZANTSI-AFRIKA					
TRANSKEI					
I-GAZETTE YORULUMENTE OFFICIAL GAZETTE AMPHILIKE KOERANT					
Umq. Vol. 1		UMTATA	3:4:1964	No. 1	
ISAZISO SIKA RULUMENTE NO. 1.] [3:4:1964.		GOVERNMENT NOTICE NO. 1] [3:4:1964.		GOEWERMENTS-KENNISGEWING NO. 1] [3:4:1964.	
IMBIZO YE PALAMENTE YASE-TRANSKEI		CONVOCATION OF TRANSKEIAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY		SAMEROEPING VAN DIE TRANSKEI SE WETGEWENDE VERGADERING	
Ngamagunya endinawo phantsi kwesigendu samashumi amathathu anane soMtheitho weSiseko sase-Transkei ka 1963 (Umltheho wama-48 ka 1963), Mna Kaizer Daluwonga Matanzima inkulu-Mbuso yase-Transkei ndumema onke amalungu ePalamente yase-Transkei ukuba ahlangele kwindlu yengxoxo eMtata ngomhla wesihlanu ka May, 1964 ngo 10.30 kusasa kwintlanganiso ye-Palamente yase-Transkei yesibini.		Under and by virtue of the powers vested in me by section thirty-four of the Transkei Constitution Act, 1963 (Act No. 48 of 1963), I, Kaizer Daluwonga Matanzima, Chief Minister of the Transkei hereby convocate all members of the Transkeian Legislative Assembly in the Assembly chamber at Umtata on the fifth day of May, 1964, at 10.30 a.m. for the second session of the Transkeian Legislative Assembly.		Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by artikel vier-en-dertig van die Transkeise Grondwet 1963 (Wet No. 48 van 1963), roep ek, Kaizer Daluwonga Matanzima Hoofminister van die Transkei hiermee al die lede van die Transkeise Wetgewende Vergadering hie toe op die vyfde dag van Mei 1964 om 10.30 v.m. in die vergaderingsaal te Umtata te vergader vir die tweede sitting van die Transkeise Wetgewende Verensaming.	
K. D. MATANZIMA, INKULU MBUSO NOMPHATHISWA WEZIMALI		<i>K. D. Matanzima</i> K. D. MATANZIMA, CHIEF MINISTER AND MINISTER OF FINANCE		K. D. MATANZIMA, HOOFMINISTER EN MINISTER VAN FINANSIES	
<i>James P. N. D. D. D.</i> MINISTER OF JUSTICE		<i>James P. N. D. D. D.</i> MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR			
Inkutshwa lasebe Lezashshwa Issued in the Department of the Interior Uitgegee deur die Departement van Binnelandse Sake					
Printed by THANDA — King William's Town.					
<i>James P. N. D. D. D.</i> MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY					
Ivaliso 5c		Price 5c		5c	

South Africa has held records in various fields of science; to this should be added two recent achievements that drew the focus of world attention. In December 1967 a South African medical team led by Professor Christiaan Barnard of the Groote Schuur Hospital in Cape Town became the first in history to transplant a human heart successfully.

In July 1970 it was announced that scientists of the South African Atomic Energy Board (established in 1959) had,



Above: The Hendrik Verwoerd Dam on the Orange River near Norvalspont. This is the first major work to be completed as part of the comprehensive Orange River Project initiated by the Department of Water Affairs in August 1965.

The meeting in September 1966 between Premier H. F. Verwoerd and Chief Leabua Jonathan, Prime Minister of the newly independent Kingdom of Lesotho, to discuss matters of common interest to the two countries.





Mr B. J. Vorster, who succeeded Dr Verwoerd as Prime Minister of the Republic on 13 September 1966 and is still in office. He is the seventh Prime Minister since 1910.



Mr J. J. Fouché, the present State President of the Republic of South Africa, elected on 19 February 1968.

A photograph of the Cabinet taken in November 1971:

Front (l. to r.): M. Viljoen, F. W. Waring, Sen. D. C. H. Uys, B. J. Schoeman, Adv. B. J. Vorster (Prime Minister), Dr N. Diederichs, P. W. Botha, Dr H. Muller and M. C. Botha.

Back (l. to r.): J. J. Loots, Sen. J. P. van der Spuy, S. P. Botha, B. Coetzee, P. C. Pelser, Dr C. de Wet, S. L. Muller, Dr C. P. Mulder and T. J. A. Gerdener.





Professor C. N. Barnard seen with members of the heart-transplant team who assisted him at Groote Schuur Hospital, Cape Town, in performing the world's first operation of this kind in December 1967. (Professor Barnard is the fifth male figure from the right.)

after years of research, developed a new and inexpensive process for enriching uranium, together with the extensive technology that accompanies it. This would enable South Africa to produce its own enriched uranium, thereby to increase its potential for generating electricity and to participate in developments in the field of nuclear energy. This discovery doubled the value of South African uranium production, which is already one-third of that of the free world and is likely to increase still further when the large deposits uncovered in South West Africa in the late sixties, are mined.

South Africa in Perspective

Despite a resilient economy and bright prospects for the future, South Africa entered the seventies in a serious and reflective mood. Conscious of the need to adjust to changing conditions in a manner that would not endanger the heritage of centuries of Western endeavour in South Africa, the country faced critics, detractors and enemies, determined at all costs to choose its own time and own methods of political development towards the ideal of general participation in the government of the country.

By 1970 there was no indication that South Africa's policy was accepted or even fully understood by the world at large. Quite the opposite happened: the offensive launched in the U.N. against South Africa in the sixties was intensified and became a general accusation of 'endangering world peace'. Since the late sixties, formal resolutions against South Africa and certain elements in various countries have openly supported the activities of armed Black terrorists employed by movements whose ultimate aim is to cross the borders of South Africa.

South Africa responded to the concerted action of political enemies - who had by 1970 gone so far as to oust the country from most forms of international sport - by concentrating on military preparedness. The rate of civilian training was increased, an appreciable share of the national budget was allocated to defence and the efficient local production of arms was organised to attain military self-sufficiency. South Africa possesses the most powerful military force on the continent of Africa and is in a position to spend time on solving internal problems without having to fear military interference from outside.

But the most important aspect of South Africa's response to enmity is a positive approach based on logic, not on resentment. Dr Verwoerd himself launched this counter-offensive to hatred by offering friendly co-operation to the



The National Nuclear Research Centre of the South African Atomic Energy Board at Pelindaba, west of Pretoria. Established in 1965, this is the main centre of atomic research in the Republic.

Premier B. J. Vorster seen in conversation with President H. Kamuzu Banda, during the former's visit to Malawi in 1970.





Sir de Villiers Graaff, leader of the United Party since 1956 and leader of the Opposition in the House of Assembly.



Mrs. Helen Suzman, M.P. for Houghton, the only member of the Progressive Party in the South African Parliament.

Republic's neighbouring States of Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland, as well as to Malawi. South Africa has repeatedly offered trade relations and scientific and technical assistance to all African States, however hostile some of them may have been in the past.

His successor, Mr B. J. Vorster, stated as follows in July, 1969:

"It is our task, and it must remain our task, to seek friends not only in the world outside but also in Africa, and to maintain the very best relations with all countries, provided that those relations do not bring about the destruction of all the things it took generations to attain.

"It is essential that all independent States should be regarded, and be treated, as fully autonomous and of equal worth, because you do not have a duty regarding your neighbour States only. We as Whites in South Africa have a special duty towards the whole continent of Africa. And

we affirm that it is not only plain common sense to enter into amicable relations with African States wherever it may be necessary, but it is also expected of us to do our duty towards Africa."

This concerted drive towards a positive approach included the reaffirming of the close ties that exist between Portugal in Southern Africa and the Republic, and the bond between Rhodesia and South Africa that was formed in the period after 1965. It was this desire to show goodwill that prompted the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, to visit Malawi, Rhodesia, Portugal, Spain, France and Switzerland in June 1970.

Time alone will tell whether the free world will acknowledge South Africa's right to make an honest attempt to see that justice is done to all her peoples, thereby enabling the Republic as the leading country in Africa to remain an active ally of Western civilisation.







926-AZ-887



* 04-BFU-559 *